

the Ecclesiastical

History of



*Eusebius
Pamphilus*

*Bishop
of Caesarea*

THE
Ecclesiastical Histories
OF
EUSEBIUS, ^KSOCRATES, SOZOMEN,
AND
THEODORIT,

Faithfully translated and abridged from the
ORIGINALS,

By SAMUEL PARKER, Gent.

To which is prefix'd

A DISSERTATION concerning the Use and Authority of *Ecclesiastical History*,

By CHARLES LESLY, M. A.

Together with

The LIVES of each respective Historian, and several useful Notes and Illustrations in the Margin, from the best Authors, as likewise necessary Indexes added by the Abridger.

VOLUME the First.

Containing the Abridgment of the ten Books of *Eusebius*; and a Letter to Mr. Bolde, concerning the Resurrection of the same Body.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WILFORD, at the three *Flower-de-Luces* in *Little Britain*; and T. JAUNCY, at the *Angel* without *Temple-Bar*. MDCCXX.

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TO

Robert Nelson, Esq;

S I R,

GIVE me leave to recommend the following *Narrative* to your *Perusal* and *Patronage*. The *Original* is a Work you are well-acquainted with, and justly value for the Account it gives of the first Ages of the Christian Church, and particularly for the undeniable Evidence it presents us with, of the Divine Apostolical Right of Episcopacy, and

D E D I C A T I O N.

of its being universally received, wheresoever Christianity prevailed. And I am sure, whatever Judgment, either *Equity* shall oblige you, or *Candour* incline you to pass upon the *Performance*, you will approve my *Intention* in publishing this Authentick, though Compendious Account of what was Taught and Transacted in the Church for the first Three hundred Years. *Arguments* from *Example* are of late grown Popular and Modish; and *What has been done*, nay, *What is done*, is now become the Rule and Measure of *What ought to be done*. Since it must be so, 'tis time for all Parties to look back into the Manners and Practices of preceding Ages; and absolutely necessary, that the Ignorant should have the Means in
their

DEDICATION.

their own hands of knowing, at least, what was receiv'd and observ'd in the more Primitive Times: Which is indeed a very plain and safe *Direction*, and such a *Model* as; it were to be wish'd, those People especially, that have insisted so much upon the Argument of *Fact*, would propose to themselves and others.

But upon this Head, SIR, you will meet with something much more to your Satisfaction than I am able to offer, in that admirable *Dissertation*, by the *Great and Excellent Author of the Snake in the Grass*, which stands as an Introduction to my Abridgment.

Upon the Perusal of which Discourse, you will find how seasonably an Essay of this Nature may be presum'd to come abroad, when

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(to forbear enumerating all the reigning Errors and Irregularities, against which we can never provide too many Antidotes and Applications) Things are come to such a pass, that though the *Laity* are grown so ready and expert at justifying themselves upon all Occasions, by resolving the Merits of the Cause into the Carriage and Authority of their Spiritual Guides, they are as forward, at the same time, to expose the Failings, and depreciate the Character of the *Clergy*, whose Male-Administration (where-ever it may be charg'd) all good and understanding Men will then confess to be a Forfeiture of that Reverence which belongs to them, as the Embassadors of the *King of Heaven*, when the Sons of *Korah* shall make it

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it appear, that to despise those whom Christ has sent, is not to despise him, and to despise him, is not to despise his Father.

In this regard 'tis a Blessing for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful, that the Church has still among her Laity, those pious and Affectionate Sons that make it their Ambition strenuously to vindicate the Honour of the Clergy, and support the Dignity of the Priesthood. In which Service nobody has more zealously labour'd, or more eminently signaliz'd himself than Mr. Nelson; and that not only in the Course of your Conversation and your private Endeavours, but by the Credit and Advantage the Sacred Order has reap'd from the Just and Lively Representation we owe to your Pen,
of

DEDICATION.

of the *Piety, Modesty*, and all those other *Graces, good Qualities*, and *Accomplishments*, that adorn'd a *Presbyter of the Church of England*, in your *Account of the Life of Mr. Kettlewell*, publish'd before *his Five Discourses*.

May God, in his Infinite Goodness, give as sure and propitious a Blessing, as he will a liberal Reward, to the generous Efforts of all Worthy Persons in the behalf of *Piety and Religion*, particularly to yours, the good Effects of which we have so much Reason to depend upon, as well from the Success that has attended them hitherto, as from those Abilities and Endowments that qualify you for a happy Prosecution of the most Useful and Commendable Purposes: And that the Divine Providence

DEDICATION.

Providence may Protect and Prosper you in all your Interests, whether Present or Future, is, and shall ever be the Prayer of,

Honour'd SIR,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant,

S. PARKER.

PREF.

DEDICATION.

Providence may direct and prosper
you in all your interests, whether
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Honored Sir,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant,

S. PARKER.

P R E F A C E.

AS if what some Philosophers tell us of Qualities, That this or that cannot Exist but the contrary must be in the World at the same time, were at least equally True of Men's Opinions (as, in general, about the Value of Books, and the Measures of Learning, so particularly) with Relation to the Worth and Use of Abridgments: There have been always Two Parties differently perswaded upon the Point; the Learned and the Lazy. The latter encourage Attempts of this kind for their own Ease, and therefore no body ought to thank them, though every body has cause to reprove them. The Learned, on the other Hand, seldom speak well of an Epitome; and that for two very substantial Reasons: First, Because either the Original is Read as well as the Abridgment, or not: If it is, then the latter is Useless, and if it is not, Insufficient. Secondly, Because there are very few good Authors that are capable of being well Abridg'd

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The first of these undoubtedly holds, unless where the latter cannot take place; For there must be no trusting to an Abridgment of any Author which we have reason to believe will not bear it; but else, when done with Sincerity Judgment, and Care, it may be serviceable, if the Original has been Read, to renew the remembrance; or, if it has not, to give us a View of all that's material in it.

No Historian, that I know of, will admit of Epitomizing better than Eusebius. The Narrations in him are frequently long and circumstantial: The same Particulars are sometimes told again: Then he has thrown in an infinite number of Epiphonema's, and Doctrinal Applications, many of which, tho' very excellent and venerable in themselves, are far from being essential to the Historical Part, and because of the length of his Expression take up a great deal of room; which gave occasion for that Censure of St. Jerom, (Comment. in Esai. Lib. 5.) Eusebius Cæsariensis historiam interpretationem titulo repromittens, diversis sensibus evagatur: cujus cum libros legerem, aliud multò reperi quàm indice promittebat, &c. Besides, the greater Part of Eusebius's History consists of Passages taken entire from other

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other Authors, so that their occasional Forms of Transition, Introduction, or Address, are inserted, though they do not enter into the Narration it self; and therefore, though these Citations, especially the Fragments he has preserv'd of Writers now lost, are most valuable Monuments, as well of my Author's Ingenuity, as of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, yet the Course of the History is little concern'd with them, consider'd only as Citations.

'Tis true, the Authorities he brings are so very Primitive and Weighty, that with regard to Questions and Controversies recourse must be had to the Original History, and the Words exactly scann'd. But the Matter and Importance of them, as they come into the Series of the History, may be set forth as fully and significantly without keeping to the Form, as any other part of the Original.

In Reply to the Dilemma before offer'd, let me observe that it will by no means affect an English Abridgment of a Greek Ecclesiastical History, which is not suppos'd to be intended so much for the Use of those that understand the Original, as of those that do not. For as it were an inexcusable Neglect in any Man, (whether Divine or Laick) if tolerably acquainted with the Greek Language,

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guage, not to read so faithful and edifying an Account, as Eusebius has given of the earliest Ages of the Church, in the Original; so it has been hitherto a great Infelicity to the less Learned among us, that they have been held too much in ignorance of what was transacted in the Primitive Church, for want of such a Compendious Representation of it, as is best extracted from that Original, and will neither try the Patience of some, nor the Purses of others.

While I make this Observation, let me not seem to insinuate any thing in Derogation of the Labours of many Learned Men among us, that have Publish'd any Parts, or Body of Ecclesiastical Antiquity in English. I am satisfy'd no Country (Reform'd or Popish) has produc'd such Diligent Polite and Critical Authors of this kind as our own. The Learned Dr. Cave's Lives of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers, is a Performance not to be rivall'd by any modern one in the same way; and very lately Mr. Echard has oblig'd us with a most Elegant and Methodical History of the Three first Centuries. So that my Undertaking could scarce have been justify'd, (if the Design of my Abridgment had been the same with the Design of those Two Histories, which

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which is to give a diffuse Account of Church Affairs collected from Variety of Authors; whereas my Abridgment is a Summary taken from one, (after the Evangelists the most Ancient Ecclesiastical Historian of any remaining) intended as a Manual for the Information of the less Learned, and an Assistance to the Memory of others.

'Tis much to be wish'd we might also see a Manual of Divinity, Collected out of the Fathers of the Three first Ages, digested and common-plac'd according to the Three several Titles of Faith, Discipline, and Practice, plainly and honestly Translated for the Benefit of the meaner Sort; a Task which, though it may seem easy, requires perhaps more than Two or Three Judicious Heads and Honest Hearts to bring it to Perfection. In the mean time, till such a System appears, if so Weak and Unworthy an Instrument as my self can contribute at all to the Informing or Disabusing of any unhappy Souls, that, in these our Days, have either forgot, or never learnt the true Principles and Practice of Primitive Christianity, by setting before their Eyes an Image of what was taught and done during the Three first Centuries, I heartily recommend to my Reader, not only, the Perusing of the Story,
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but the Digesting and Applying of it; assuring him I have made it my Endeavour to represent things as I found them, and that nothing of Moment in the Original should be omitted in the Abridgment.

As for the Chronology, I thought my self oblig'd, as an Abridger, to follow that of the History before me, especially since it every way Answers those Ends I propos'd to my self, (and have already acquainted the Reader with) in Publishing this Performance, as effectually as another could have done, more Elaborate and Correct.

tribune at all to the Informing or Enriching of any unhappy Souls; that, in this our Day, there is no more to be said, or more than the Principles and Practices of Pious and Christian Living, by living before their eyes as living of what was taught and how having the Truth of what is taught, I heartily recommend to every Reader, not only the Reading of the Story,

A Short

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE
OF
EUSEBIUS,

Extracted from the best Authors
that have Written on that Subject:

With a Catalogue of his Writings.

Eusebius, surnam'd Pamphilus from
the Martyr so call'd, his intimate
and dearest Friend (and, as some
will have it, his near Relation)
was a Native of *Palestine*, and Born toward
the latter end of the Reign of *Gallienus*, and

the Third Century, about the Year 266. probably at *Cæsarea*, where he settled a famous Seminary for Learning. He was a compleat and universal Scholar, and sometime a Disciple of the Great *Dorotheus* of *Antioch*. His principal Study, to which he directed his other Acquisitions and Labours, was *Ecclesiastical Learning*; and herein he was so very Diligent and Curious as to gather and consult all the Monuments and Authorities, whether in Archives or Libraries, that *Antiquity* administer'd. But how great a Zeal and Concern he had for the Promotion of this sort of Knowledge himself sufficiently express'd, when upon an Offer of the Emperor *Constantine*, to bestow any Donation *Eusebius* should think proper upon the Church at *Cæsarea*; he told him that Church was as well Endow'd already as he could desire, but that he should think himself a very happy Man if his Imperial Majesty would, by his Special Order, be pleas'd to procure him all the several Acts and Records, from every Quarter of the Empire, relating to the Martyrs and their Sufferings. The Emperor accordingly gratify'd him, and out of these he compos'd his *Ecclesiastical History* and his *Martyrology*.

In the Year 307. *Pamphilus* being confin'd for the Faith, *Eusebius* constantly attended him, and the Opportunity inviting, they united their Endeavours for the Propagation of Sacred Learning; for which as *Pamphilus* was admirably qualify'd, especially having for some time enjoy'd the Benefit of *Pierius's* Instructions, Regent of the Catechetick School at *Alexandria*, stil'd for the Severity of his Life, and the Excellency of his Learning, *The Second Origen*, and very intimate with *Eusebius*; so *Eusebius* was, no doubt, not a little animated and assisted in it by the Conversation and Familiarity he then contracted and cultivated with *Meletius*, Bishop of *Sebastea* in *Pontus*, a Man of extraordinary Piety and Learning. After Two Years Imprisonment (a good Portion of which time was employ'd between the two Friends upon their Apology for *Origen*) *Pamphilus* receiv'd his Crown, and *Eusebius* withdrew to *Tyre*, where, as he tells us in the Eighth Book of his History, himself was present at the Execution of several eminent Martyrs.

From thence he went into *Egypt*, and was laid in Chains, under which Trial he was afterwards accus'd in the Synod of

Tyre, to have done Sacrifice to Idols, but without any better Proof or Pretence than bare Conjecture from the Mouths of Men professedly prejudic'd against him, grounded only upon the favourable Usage he had met with at the Hands of the Infidels. And the weakness of the Accusation is undeniably evinc'd from his retaining the Orders and Authority of a Presbyter, which according to the Discipline current in that Age, he could no longer have kept after the Proof of such an Apostacy; much less have rose to the Episcopal Dignity, as he did after his Return into *Palestine*, where he was consecrated Successor, in the Bishoprick of *Casarea*, to *Agapius*, by whom he had been ordain'd Presbyter.

About the Year 316. (according to others 313, or 314.) at the Consecration of a magnificent Church, which *Paulinus*, the Bishop of the Place, a great Friend and Admirer of *Eusebius*, had erected at *Tyre*, our Author deliver'd that Excellent Oration which he has inserted (concealing his Name) in the Tenth Book of his History, and which I have left out of the Abridgment, both because it would be an Injury to Epitomize it, and because it is a
wide

the Life of Eusebius. v

wide Digression from the Course of the History.

In the Council of *Nice*, in the Year 325. he was a very Significant Party from the beginning to the end of it. He was appointed to Welcome and Harangue the Emperor upon his Entrance into the Council, and plac'd the next Person to himself at his Right Hand. After long canvassing of *Arius's* Cause, *Eusebius* having drawn up a Confession of Faith, presented it to the Fathers, and they unanimously approv'd of it; but judging it not altogether so full and expressive as was requisite, they concluded upon another, or indeed rather the same, a little enlarged and improv'd, asserting the *Consubstantiality* of the SON with the FATHER, by the word *ὁμοῦς*, and annexing their *Anathema's* against the Adversaries of that Doctrine. At this Term *Eusebius* hesitated some time, till upon maturer Thoughts, and a clearer Insight into the meaning of the Fathers, he assented to the publick Use of it, (though it must be confess'd he was never a very cordial Friend to it) and sent an Account of the whole matter to his Diocess. And here it may be expected I should purge my Author from the Imputation

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tation of *Arianism*, that has been charg'd upon him by several of the Ancients, and very furiously by St. *Jerom*, but the Merits of the Cause requiring a larger Compass of Time and Paper, than can be conveniently allotted it at present, I refer the curious Reader to *Socrates's Ecclesiastical History*, l. 2. c. 21. *Gelasius Cyzicenus Hist. Council. Nic.* l. 2. c. 1. *Vales. de Vita & Scriptis Euseb.* Dr. Cave in his *Life of Eusebius*, among the *Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, §. 22. and in his *Hist. Litteraria*. And Dr. Parker in the *First Part of Religion and Loyalty*, p. 360.

Upon *Eustathius's* being depos'd from the Chair of *Antioch* about the Year 330. the *Antiochians* unanimously voted *Eusebius* his Successor, and apply'd themselves to the Emperor for his Approbation and Encouragement of the Choice. But *Eusebius*, being sensible what Provisions the Church had made in her Canons, particularly in the 15th of the Council of *Nice*, against the Practice of *Translations*, very generously declin'd the Offer, though the Bishoprick of *Antioch* was much more considerable than his own of *Casarea*. This Refusal the good Emperor look'd upon as such a noble Instance of Ingenuity and Sincerity,

the Life of Eusebius. **vii**

Sincerity, that he highly applauded the Resolution, and congratulated the Happiness of *Eusebius*, that had receiv'd such a remarkable Testimony of a general Esteem and Love, as a Person whose Pastorship the Churches contended for, or rather seem'd, all of them, to wish themselves combin'd in. The truth on't is, *Eusebius* was the Darling of this Excellent Emperor, who maintain'd a Correspondence with him when absent by Letters, and bestow'd upon him all the Marks imaginable of his Favour, and was not very long surviv'd by him; for having reach'd a good old Age, and acquir'd himself a sure universal Reputation, both for his Piety and Learning, our Author deceas'd about the Year 340. or according to others 338. a little before the Death of *Constantine the Younger*.

His Works which still remain, are his

C*hronicon*, Translated into Latin, and enlarged by St. Jerom.

Fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*.

Ten Books (the other Ten being lost) of *Evangelical Demonstration*.

Ten Books of *Ecclesiastical History*; and at the end of the Eighth, his Book of the *Martyrs of Palestine*.

Book against Hierocles, who had writ a Comparison between the Miracles of *Christ* and *Apollonius Tyaneus*.

Two Books against *Marcellus the Sabellian*.

Three Books of *Ecclesiastical Theology*, upon the same Points as the former.

Epistle to the *Cæsareans*, concerning the *Nicene Faith*.

Account of the Cities and Places mention'd in the Holy Scriptures, Translated by St. Jerom into Latin; wherein mention is made of Two other of his Treatises since lost; the one of *The Signification of Names which the Jews give to other Nations*; the other, *A Description of the Holy Land and the Temple*.

Oration in Praise of Constantine.

Four Books of *Constantine's Life*.

Exposition, or Collections, upon the Canticles; Supposititious with *Du Pin*.

Lives of the Prophets.

Ten Canons or Rules of the Sacred Gospels.

The

A Catalogue of his Works. ix

The first Book of the Apology for Origen, in Rufinus's Version.

A Sermon upon the Words, Early in the Morning, and upon The Vision of Angels at the Sepulchre.

His Books not Extant, are,

Of Ecclesiastical Preparation, 2 the Number un-
Of Ecclesiastical Demonstration, 5 certain.

Against Porphyry, Thirty Books.

Of the Differences in the Gospels, together with a Letter to Carpianus.

Of the Incarnation, Five Books.

Comment upon the Psalms.

Comment upon Isaiah, in Ten Books.

Comment upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Collections upon all the Holy Scripture.

Apology for Origen, in Six Books: The first Five compos'd in Concert with Pamphilus; the Sixth added afterwards by himself.

Three Books of the Life of Pamphilus.

Two Books of Confutation and Apology; perhaps that Defence of himself (mention'd by Gelasius Eyzicenus) against the Imputation of Arianism; though others upon better Grounds and Authority, suppose it to have been a General Apology for the Christian Religion, and Confutation of Gentilism.

A Martyrology, in Eleven Books, a Greek MSS. of which, 'tis said, is still to be seen at Rome.

A Description of the Church of Jerusalem, Built by Constantine.

A Paschal Cycle.

X *A Catalogue of his Works.*

An Epistle to Constantia, concerning Christ's Picture, which is quoted in Concil. Nic. II.

Act. VI. In this Quotation he reproves her Curiosity for sending to him for an Artificial Representation of *Christ's Human Form.*

An Epistle to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, concerning Arius.

An Epistle to Euphration.

Archæologia, or Ancient History, perhaps the same with his Chronicon.

Of the Polygamy of the Patriarchs, probably a Part of the former.

Doubtful.

Lives of the Prophets.

Doubtful, or rather Supposititious.

Two Books of the Faith against Sabellius.

Of the Resurrection.

Of the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord.

Of the Incorporeal and Invisible God.

Of that which is Incorporeal.

Of the Incorporeal Soul.

Of Cogitation in the Spirit of Man.

A Proof of the Incorporeality of God the Father.

Another Discourse upon the same Subject.

A Discourse upon that Text, I came not to send Peace, but a Sword.

A Discourse upon that Text, What ye hear in the Ear, that Preach ye upon the House tops.

Of Good and Evil Works.

Of Good Works, according to the Doctrine deliver'd in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

A Dis-

A
DISSERTATION

Concerning the
USE and AUTHORITY.

OF

Ecclesiastical History.

Dear Sir,

I AM very glad you have employ'd those good Talents, God has given you, to the Study of *History*, especially the *Ecclesiastical*, which will serve best to the Ends you propose, of promoting the Interests of God's Church, in an Age where She is so far lost, as to be almost *Forgotten*: And though we keep her *Name*, She is yet unknown to most, what she truly is, or what it is that belongs to her. To retrieve which, the best Method will be, to shew her in her Primitive Face; and then Men will see how she has *Improv'd* or *Degenerated*. A *Picture* allures more than *Description*;

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tion; and Matter of Fact beyond many Arguments: Discourses Tell us of things, but History Shews them to us.

But of all *History*, the *Ecclesiastical* is the most *Beneficial*, as much more as the Concerns of the *Church* are beyond that of the *State*; our *Souls* above that of our *Bodies*; and our *Eternal State* more than the *Moment* we have to stay in this *World*.

Secular *History* may make us *States-men* and *Politicians*: But the *Ecclesiastical* will make us *Wise* unto *Salvation*.

There we see the *Rise* and *Growth* of *Heresies* and *Schisms*. And how these *Tares* were *Sown*, while the *Husband-men* slept. How soon they were *Beat down* while the *Watch men* were *Vigilant* and *Zealous*. But when they put on a sort of *Moderation*, and would *Compound*, how the *Weeds*, in a moment, over-spread the *Face* of the *Vine-yard*. That it requir'd even *Miracles* sometimes to *retrieve* it!

There we see the *Beginning* and *Encroachments* of *Erastianism*, more fatal to the *Church* than *Persecution*: When *Court-Bishops* gave up the *Sacred Depositum* committed to their *Charge*, into the *Hands* of *Kings* and *States*, for *Worldly Considerations*.

And there, and there only, I may say, is the *Dicision* of all controverted *Points* in *Divinity*, either as to *Doctrin*e or *Discipline*. For every one of them must be determin'd by *Matter of Fact*. It is not *Refining*, and *Criticisms*, and our

our *Notions* of things, but what that *Faith* was which, at the first, was *Deliver'd* to the *Saints*. This is *Matter of Fact*, and must be determin'd by *Evidence*. And where any *Text* of the *New Testament* is disputed, the best *Evidence* is from those *Fathers* of the *Church* who liv'd in the *Apostolical Age*, and learn'd the *Faith* from the *Months* of the *Apostles* themselves, such as *St. Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, &c. These must know best the *Sense* and *Meaning* of the *Words* deliver'd by the *Apostles*. And next to them, they to whom they did *Deliver* the same, and so on through the several *Ages* of the *Church*, to this *Day*.

And those *Doctrines*, and that *Government* of the *Church* which has this *Evidence*, must be the *Truth*.

And they who refuse to be determin'd by this *Rule*, are justly to be *suspected*; nay, they give *Witness* against themselves, that they are departed from the *Truth*.

Thus the *Church* of *Rome* will not be concluded by the *Evidence*, but by what they call the *Authority* of the *Church*. Then they make this *Authority* the same in all *Ages*. And so settle all upon the *Authority* of the *Present Church*. Then they vainly supposing themselves to be the whole *World*, or the *Catholick Church*, and the *Pope* the *Head* of it; and consequently none to be true *Members* of it, who own not his *Universal Supremacy* (who always were, and are at this *Day* more than *Ten Parts* to *One* against those *Churches* which did, or do own it). They

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They take upon them to impose *New Articles of Faith*, as at *Trent*; and *Assume* the *Authority* of the whole *Apostolical College* to themselves.

But, as the Famous *Archbishop* of *Spalato*, *Marc. Anton. de Dom*, said, The farther he Travell'd upwards in *Antiquity*, he still found more of the *Episcopal*, and less of the *Papal Authority*, which he complain'd had, in his time, quite *Swallow'd* up the *Episcopal* at *Rome*, and gives this as the Reason, in his *Consilium Presfectionis*, for his quitting his *Archbishoprick*, and other *Preferments* in the *Church* of *Rome*, and his coming over to the *Church* of *England*, in the *Reign* of our *King James I.* to seek for a more *Pure* and *Primitive Episcopacy*. And this he did, as he tells himself, before he had ever Read a *Protestant-Book*, or Convers'd with any *Protestants*; but merely by his Searching into *Antiquity*.

The same Method would Baffle and Silence our vile *Sectaries*, of several sorts. For Example, Who can Read the *History* which you have *Epitomis'd*, and doubt that *Episcopacy*, was the *Government* of the *Church*, at that time, and before, all over the *Christian World*? And as to that *Childish Rattle*, which the *Presbyterians* play with of going to the *Etymology* of the Words, *Ἐπίσκοπος*, *Πρεσβύτερος*, and *Διδάσκαλος*, it can have no more weight with any Man of Sense that Reads *Eusebius*, than the Word *Imperator* being us'd sometimes for the *General* of any *Army*, could persuade any that Read
the

the *Roman History*, to believe that there never was an *Emperor* in *Rome*.

But as none can undertake this *Method* except Men of *Learning*; so where they have manag'd the *Controversial* Points of *Divinity* in this manner, such *Works* have always been best receiv'd in the World, and have proved most *Effectual* and *Unanswerable*, as the Celebrated *Forbes* of *Corse*, his *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*; the Learned *Cosin*, Bishop of *Durham*, his *Scholastical History* of the *Canon* of the *Holy Scripture*, and his *History* of *Transubstantiation*, which none of our *Adversaries* of the *Church* of *Rome* have attempted to Answer. For plain *Matter of Fact* will not Bend, or suffer us to Dodge and Fence with it, as we may do for ever about poor *Criticisms* of *Words*, and *Speculations* of our own *Inventing*.

They who Read not *Ecclesiastical History*, and the *Primitive Fathers*, must take their Knowledge at *Second Hand* upon *Trust* from others. Which some think to supply with reading *Modern Systems* and *Courses* of *Divinity*, whereby they may have all at once, and be thereby likewise better enabl'd to understand the *Controversies* of our own Age.

But as these are grafted upon the *Ages* foregoing; so the best *Method* of seeing clearly into them, is to Examine *Upwards* and Read *Downwards* from the *Beginning*. There we shall find many of those seemingly *Exalted* and *New* *Notions*, set up by the various *Sects* amongst us, to have been *Old Exploded Heresies* Con-

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demn'd by the *Catholick Church*, and only *New Vamp'd* by subtile *Enemies* crept in among us, to Divide and Distract the *Ignorant* and *Unstable*.

It is a thing much to be lamented, that so many of our *Clergy*, (though generally the most *Learned* of any in any Nation upon the Earth) some out of *Poverty*, having no *Money* to Buy *Books*, no, nor to provide bare *Necessaries*, since the *Scandalous* and *Sacrilegious Impropriations* made of their *Tythes*; first by the *Pope*, and then worse *Diverted* by those who should have *Restor'd* them; and others out of *Laziness* and *Avocations* to *Secular Affairs*, content themselves with two or three *Dutch* or *German Systems* of *Divinity*, and some *Modern Books* upon the *Contests* now a-foot; whereby they can bear up something of *Discourse*, upon *General Topicks*, but know nothing to the *Bottom*.

This Disease had crept much even into the *Universities*, not only while they were *Oppress'd* and *Purg'd* during the *Usurpation* of *Forty One*, by those who hated *Learning*, because it made against them: But before that time, the *Modern Polemicks* then *Bandy'd* in *Holland* and here, of *Calvinists*, *Arminians*, *Remonstrants*, *Anti-Remonstrants*, &c. had taken up most of the *Studies* of the *Young Genious's* at the *Universities*, to fit themselves for that *War*: Whereby the *Learning* of *Antiquity* of the early *Fathers*, and of *Ecclesiastical History* was, in a great measure, laid aside, and much impair'd.

Which

Which having been observ'd by that Great Archbishop *Land*, he, when *Chancellor* of the *University of Oxford*, apply'd the proper Remedy, and order'd the *Heads of the Houses* to Direct the Young *Students* to the Reading of *Antiquity*, beginning at the *first Ages* of the *Church*, and so downwards. Which has exceedingly rais'd the Glory of that *University*, as of the other of *Cambridge*, who follow'd the same Example; whence so many *Learned Works* have been produc'd, in our *Kingdoms*, of the true and solid *Antiquity*, as have in a manner Reviv'd the *first Ages* of the *Church*, and given us Noble *Editions* of some of the Greatest of the *Fathers*; with Hopes to see the same Method gone throw with the rest. The *Emulation* of this has likewise gone into other *Countries*, and improv'd *Learning* every where.

Nay, even among the *Fanaticks* themselves, who, though they are fill'd with *Indignation* to see this Method pursu'd, and have wrote spiteful Books against the *Fathers*, to destroy their Authority, yet are forc'd to come into them, and have taken Pains to gather *Scraps* out of them, which they *Wrest* to favour their *New Opinions*. Fain would they have *Antiquity* on their side, if they could get it. And when it will not do, they *Rail* at it, and Run down *Fathers*, *Councils*, and *Ecclesiastical Histories*, all in a Lump. And would have us take their *Light within* for the only true *Interpreter* of *Scripture*! While, at the same time, they give us *Histories* of their vile *Sects*, their Beginnings,

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Progress, Success, Models, Discipline, Doctrine, &c. to preserve their Memories to Future Ages, and to be a *Pattern* for them. Yet they will not allow this to the *Apostolical*, and next succeeding Ages; or that we can know them by the *Histories* and *Writings* of those Times.

In which we find nothing of the *Papal Supremacy*, or *Presbyterian Parity*; but flagrant *Episcopacy* every where in all Churches. Yet with this Difference, That whereas our *Dissenters* have this *Plea* only left, to *Bawl* and *Wrangle*, as if our *Bishops* took more upon them, and assum'd greater *Authority* than those *Primitive Bishops* did pretend to over their *Presbyters* and *People*: The Case is so far otherwise, That if our *Bishops* should speak now in the Language us'd by, and of those early *Apostolical Bishops*, that *Rout* would be ready to *Stone* them, and cry out *Blasphemy*! If they were told, That the *Bishop* does immediately Represent the Person of *Christ*: That therefore as the *Apostles* and *Disciples* were *Obedient* to *Christ*, so ought the *Presbyters*, *Deacons*, and *Laity*, to be *Obedient* to their *Bishop*: That who kept not *Outward Communion* with his *Bishop*, did forfeit the *Inward Communion* with *Christ* the Head: That even *Prayers* and *Sacraments* out of the *Communion* of the *Bishop*, were like the *Offerings* of *Korah*, *Rebellion* against the *Lord*: But my Soul for theirs who keep *Communion* with their *Bishop*; for that he is the *Principle* of *Unity* in his *Church*, and who is not in *Communion* with Him,

Him, is out of the *Unity* of the *Catholick Church*. This would be call'd *High-flying* with a *Witness*! Yet this was the *Language* of the Holy *Ignatius*, and those *Primitive*, and even *Apostolical* Times.

How far short of this is the *Stile* and the *Pretensions* of our *Present Bishops*? Yet we hear these *Sons of Korah*, in his very *Words* (which they still *Retain*, as well as his *Arguments*) telling their *Bishops*, *Ye take too much upon you*. And the *Reason*, *seeing all the Congregation are Holy*, every one of them, and the *Lord* is among them; wherefore then lift ye up your selves above the *Congregation of the Lord*? They set up their own *Holiness* (*Humble Men of Heart*!) against those *Governors* set over them by *Christ*: And call their *Authority*, a *Lording* it over the *Heritage of the Lord*. Their *Authority*! which is dwindled almost to a *Shadow*, from that which was left by the *Apostles* to the *Bishops* whom they *Ordain'd*; and *Exercis'd* by them with the *Joy* and *Consent* of all good *Christians*, for many *Ages*. And all this upon the *Pretence* that our *Bishops* have enlarg'd their *Authority* above that of the *first Bishops*!

But all this is Cur'd by consulting the *Original Records* and *Histories* of the *Church*, by which it will appear how *Groundless* and *Contemptible* the *Pretensions* are of both *Pope* and *Presbyter*, who are joyn'd like *Samson's Foxes*, with *Fire-Brands*, though they look several ways, to *Ruin* and *Depress* the *Primitive Episcopacy*. The one would have no *Bishop* but himself; the other would

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would have none at all. Let either of them see what footsteps they can find of either of these *Schemes*, in your *Eusebius*, or in any *Writer* before his time.

The *Frame* of the *Church* was then in the full *Authority* of every *Bishop* over his own *Flock*, as well *Presbyters* as *People*, as he who must give an *Account* to *Christ*, the *Chief Shepherd*: And in the *Mutual Agreement* and *Correspondence* of the *Bishops* among themselves, for the *Joynt Regiment* of the whole *Body*, according to such *Canons* and *Rules* of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, as they settled among themselves. Which is exactly *Parallel* to the *Government* in which *God* has dispos'd the *World*, the *Full* and *Independent Authority* of each particular *Government* in the several *Nations* of the *Earth*, over their own *Subjects*: And what we call the *Law of Nations*, as a *Rule* among the several *Kings* and *States*, for the *Preservation* of the whole. And as *God*, in his *Infinite Wisdom*, has not thought it best for the *World* to set one *Universal Monarch* over it all; but has consulted better for the *Peace* and *Security* of *Mankind*, in many *Independent Kings*, who may *Ballance* one another, and be *Garrantees* in the *Treaties* of *Peace* among themselves: So, as *St. Cyprian* has observ'd, *Christ* did therefore make the *College* of *Bishops* numerous, that if one should prove *Heretical*, or seek to *Devour* the *Flock*, the rest might mercifully *Interpose* for the *saving* of it. But if this *Power* were Lodg'd in any one *Universal Bishop*, then, as *Gregory the Great* wisely *Argues*, If that *Uni-*
versal

versal Bishop should Fall, the whole Universal Church may fall with him.

On the other hand, if every Government were not *Intire* and *Absolute* within it self, they could not *Rule* their own *Subjects*; and so could not contribute towards the *General Peace* of the *World*. So that the *Presbyterian Parity* would *Unhinge* all *Particular Governments*, and render the *Government of the World* a mere *Chaos* and a *Mobb*.

Now the *State and History* of the *Primitive Church* shews this by a stronger *Argument*, that is, of *Fact*, what was the *Government* of the *Church*, as *Establish'd* and *Left* by the *Apostles*. For that is it which must, after all our *Reasonings*, determine us. It is not what *Schemes* and *Contrivances* we may *Fancy*, but what that *Government* was, which, *de Facto*, the *Apostles* left in the *Church*. And that must continue, till a *Greater*, at least as *Great* an *Authority* shall alter it.

But some think, That the *Apostles* left no *Standing Government* in the *Church*, but what might be alter'd by the *Church* in after *Ages*, according to *Occasions* and *Emergencies*. And so *Episcopacy*, *Presbytery*, or any thing else may come in——These make no great *Matter* of the *Government* of the *Church*, so as (they cry) the *Doctrine* be secur'd. But they consider not, That the *Government* was *Ordain'd* to *Secure* the *Doctrine*. And no *Instance* can be given from *Jeroboam* downward, where the *Change* of the *Government* did not bring along with it a *Change*

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a Change of *Doctrine*, as the *Apostle* argues, Heb. vii. 12. *For the Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law.* And as in *Temporal Kingdoms*, there cannot be a Change of *Government*, without a Change also of the *Law*; so is it in the *Kingdom of God upon Earth*, which is the *Church*. Every small *Corporation* is Jealous of their *Government*, and look upon any *Infraction* upon that to be an *Invasion* of their *Rights* and *Liberties*. The *Church* alone, with us, is render'd *Precarious*, and her *Government* of no *Consequence*! What stress *God* laid upon it, may be seen in the business of *Korah*. And how near to Heart it was laid in the *Primitive Church*, we see in the first *Invasions* were made upon the *Episcopal Authority*. How was all the *Church* in a *Flame*, and the *Bishops* every where concern'd themselves upon *Novatus* thrusting himself into the See of *Cornelius*, as being an *Infraction* upon the *Rules* and *Rights* of the *Episcopal College*! How did the Great *St. Cyprian* cry out, upon this Occasion, That whoever *Invaded* the See of another *Bishop*, was not *Secundus*, sed *Nullus*! No *Second Bishop*, while the *First* was *Alive*, and not *Synodically* Depos'd, by the *Episcopal College*, for *Heresy*, or other *Crimes* deserving of it. For the *Right* of every *Bishop* in the *Earth* is herein concern'd, and consequently of the *Whole Church*, of her *Whole Constitution*, as a *Society*, that is, as a *Church*. And it was not then thought a matter of so little *Moment*, to suffer the *Pillar* and *Ground* of the *Truth* to be *Shaken*.
For

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For if the *Church* goes, the *Truth*, which she *Supports*, goes with her, is *Impar'd* or *Improv'd* with her, for *Christ* has *Founded* it upon her, has *Built* the *Faith* upon the *Foundation* of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, himself the chief *Corner-Stone*. And has promis'd to be with the *Apostles* and their *Successors*, to the *End of the World*. Is it then a matter so indifferent who are their *Successors*? Who should be the *Center of Unity* in every *Church*? Who should *Represent* the *Person of Christ* to us, and *Sign* and *Seal* his *Covenants* with us, in his *Name*, and by his *Commission*? Can any *Invested* with such an *Authority* be put in and out at *Pleasure*, at every *Bodies* pleasure, of *Kings*, of *States*, nay, of the *Mobb*, be *Voted* up and down by them?

While the *Church* retain'd her *Primitive Discipline*, and preserv'd the *Bounds* of the *Sanctuary* free from *Popular* and all *Lay-Usurpations*, how was the *Faith* made *Glorious*, and the *Christian Zeal* shone far and wide, to the *Disarming*, and *Conversion* of her *Adversaries*!

But in after times, when her *Authority* was lessen'd, swallow'd up by the *Pope*, and put all into his *Hands*; Prey'd upon by the *Secular Powers*; *Divided* and *Torn asunder* by *Rebellious* and *Ambitious Presbyters*; and lastly, *Trod under Foot* by the *Beasts* of the *People*; how were the *Flood-gates* open'd of all vile *Errors* and *Hereses*, which over-spread the *Face* of the *Church*!

Let me name two *Examples* known to every body. The first is, When *Episcopacy* was totally subdu'd

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subdu'd among us, in the former successful *Revolution* of *Forty One*, what a prodigious *Swarm* of New-broach'd *Heresies* and *Sects* rose up all of a sudden! And over-spread the Face of the Land! You will find the Names of most of them in *Heresiography* and *Gangrena*, wrote in those times; they were about the number of those reckon'd by *Epiphanius*, that is, *Sixty*. No *Nation* upon the Earth, since *Christianity*, ever saw so dismal a Sight at any one time!

But how soon *Episcopacy* was Restor'd, with the Banish'd King, *Anno 1660*, these all (except three or four of chief Name) instantly disappear'd, as *Mists* before the *Sun*.

The *Second Instance* I shall give, is, the State of the Church since the last *Revolution* in 1688. wherein *Episcopacy* was Abolish'd in Scotland — in ordine ad — And though the time was not come for going so far in England, (by a seasonable Interposition of *Providence*) yet all *Preparations* were made for it: The *Power* and *Management* both in Church and State, were put into the Hands of the *Enemies* of *Episcopacy*: Its *Divine Rights*, or any *Right* at all, above the Reach of an *Act* of *Parliament*, was taken away, and effectually Disown'd, by the *Act* for *Lay-Deprivations*: Hence a *Schism* arose in the Church of England, (the first since the *Reformation*) and *Bishops* and *Anti-Bishops* were set up.

Since which time; the *Flood-gates* of *Heresy* have been again set open. The *Socinians*, otherwise call'd *Unitarians*, so Rampant, that besides the

the Liberty of the *Press*, and free owning of themselves, even in *Coffee-Houses*, without the least *Restraint*, they proceeded so far, as to lay the *Scheme* for the Open and *Publick Profession* of their *Religion*, to Build and Endow *Churches* for themselves, &c. as we are told in the *Life* of *Thomas Firmin*, their indefatigable *Agent*.

Sir *Robert Howard*, a Member of the *Privy-Council*, and of Great Post in the *Government*, own'd in *Print* what he call'd his *History of Religion*; which is a Rank *Satyr* against all *Priesthood* and *Churches* whatsoever, and ridicules *Religion* it self.

The *Books* and *Pamphlets* of those times, upon these Subjects, are very *Voluminous*. And from the Countenance they receiv'd (I wish I could not say, even from some then in *High Station* in the *Church*) they have fill'd this Land, especially the *Young Gentry*, with *Principles* of *Irreligion*, of *Deism*, (with is now the most *Prevalent*, as it is the most *Cursed* of *Sects*) and even of downright *Arheism*.

And for the *Poorer* and more *Ignorant* sort of *People*, they seeing the *Foundations* thus *shaken*, have run over, in *Shoals*, (taking Advantage of the *Plenitude* of the *Toleration*) to the Remainder of the *Sects* left amongst us since the *former Revolution* (like so many of the *Canaanites*, to teach us the use of *War*) besides *New Ones*, this Rank Soil has produc'd, as the *Philadelphians*, *Bourignonists*, *Davists*, *Masonians* (since extinguish'd) and others; the *Sweet-Singers*, *Anti-nomians*, and others of the old ones *Reviv'd*.

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viv'd. As those much Ancienter, which we find in your *Eusebius*, l. 3. c. 26. That the *Bodies* of the *Faithful* shall not *Die*. And, l. 6. c. 37. That the *Soul* does *Die* with the *Body*. The former set up lately by *Asgil*, the latter by Dr. *Coward*, and several others, who have wrote on the same Side. And these old Exploded *Heresies*, are now the *Chat* of *Coffee-Houses* and *Taverns*, as *New* and *Ingenious Discoveries*, and Take with too many, in an *Age* prepar'd for such *Delusions*. And many more went over to *Popery* in the *last*, than in the former *Reign*.

From all this, that dreadful *Loose* has proceeded of *Prophaness*, and open *Im-moralities*, which we now see before our *Eyes*, in an *Excess*, would have been thought *Scandalous*, even in *Licentious* times.

For what *Restraint* can there be, where there is no *Sense* of *Religion*? And what *Sense* of an *Instituted* and *Reveal'd* Religion, where its *Institutions* are *Despis'd*, and their *Authority* with whom *Christ* has left the *Administration* of them, and *Government* of his *Church*, is render'd *Pre-carious*, and *Voluble* with every *Turn* of *State*? Nay, *Subject* to the *Caprice* of those who have *Itching Ears*, and heap up *Teachers* to themselves? When *Tender Conscience* and *Moderation* is pleaded on their behalf, who *Tear* the *Body* of *Christ* in *Pieces* by various *Seets* and *Schisms*? When the *Spirit* of *Zeal*, the very *Life* and *Soul* of *Christianity*, the Παρρησία of the *Gospel*, is not only laid aside, but call'd *Violence* and *High-flying*?

fly^{ing}? And, in the room thereof, such a *Lao-dicean* and *Latitudinarian* Principle is set up, as knows not where it will stop, nor can indeed, till it has given up all *Reveal'd Religion*, which is inconsistent with it. Towards which, what Pains have we seen taken, by some whom it least Became, to Advance, in Opposition to it, what they call *Natural Religion*, (which will allow them *Latitude* enough) even to prefer a *Mother's* Obligation to *Suckle* her own *Child*, as being a *Natural Duty*, before any *Positive Precept* of *Reveal'd Religion*? Which includes the Belief of a *Christ*, or any *Faith* in *Him*; for that is nothing else but a *Positive Precept* of *Reveal'd Religion*. And then we cannot suppose, That any of his *Institutions*, *Prayers*, *Sacraments*, or any thing else should be much stood upon; especially such as concern the *Regiment* of his *Church*, as a *Society*, distinct from, and *Independent* of any other upon *Earth*. These must be easily *dispens'd* with, when the *Author* of what I have nam'd above, makes the Command of an *Husband*, (who, by the way, is no *Natural* Relation, but of *Positive Institution*) sufficient to discharge his *Wife* from that *Natural Duty* of giving *Suck* to her *Child*, which he makes of more *Necessary* and *Indispensible* Obligation, (these are his words) than any *Positive Precept* of *Reveal'd Religion*. And directs *Parents* and *Masters* to take care, not to bring up their *Children* and *Servants* in what he calls the *Jargon*, that is, the *distinguishing Principles* of any *Party*. For these must give place, at all times, to *Politicks*, to

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keep up *Peace* and *Quietness*, though in the most manifest *Injustice*: Which any sort of *Principles*, being stood to, might some time or other happen to *Disturb*. And the *Quiet Possession*, though of *Wickedness*, he makes preferable to any *Religion* whatsoever; the *Consequences* of which he extends not beyond this World (for he has publicly *Preach'd* and *Printed* the utter *Uncertainty* (at least) in his *Opinion*, whether there be any *Hell*) therefore says, *And for God's Sake, what is Religion good for, but to Reform the Manners and Dispositions of Men, to Restrain Humane Nature from Violence and Cruelty, from Falsehood and Treachery, from Sedition and Rebellion? Better it were, there were no Reveal'd Religion, (that is, no CHRIST) and that Humane Nature were left to the Conduct of its own Principles and Inclinations, which are much more Mild and Merciful, much more for the Peace and Happiness of Humane Society, than to be acted by a Religion that is continually Supplanting Government, and Undermining the Welfare of Mankind, &c.*

There is much more in the same *Author* of the like sort. And I mention it here, to let our *Latitudinarians* see whither their *Principles* do tend. This *Author* being much *Admir'd* by them, and the very *Top* of them.

And I name this *Sect* of the *Latitudinarians*, the last that I shall now speak of, as including all the rest, and all that indeed can be: At least so far as to give way to them, and Live well with them, for *Peace* sake, though *Korahites* or *Mahumetans*!

And

And I have pitch'd upon this *Remarkable* Person for an Instance, he being the most concern'd of any Man in *England*, in the late *Lay-Deprivations*, and *Breaches* upon the *Episcopal* Authority.

And to make good what I have observ'd before, that *Infractions* upon the *Government* of the *Church*, have always been attended with *Corruptions*, even in her *Doctrine*.

And thence to infer, how necessary it is, to preserve the *Government* of the *Church*, as *Christ* and the *Apostles* left it.

Which what it is, and how *zealously* contend-ed for, in the *Primitive Ages*, the *History* you have *Abridg'd* does evidently shew.

I might add a third Instance, that of *Holland*, which, because it would not have *Episcopacy*, is render'd the *Sink* and *Asylum* of all vile *Errors* and *Heresies*; from whence most of ours were sent to us, in the *former* as well as *last Revolution*, which I have shew'd elsewhere. And thus it has been, is, and will be in all Places, more or less, as *Erastianism* Prevails, and *Episcopacy* is Depress'd.

I have now but one word more, concerning the Method of *Abridgments* of *History*. They are of use to those who have Read the *Histories* at large, and to those who have not. To the former they serve as *Indexes*, and *Revive* them in their *Memories* with little Pains: And they Encourage the latter to Peruse the *Histories* themselves; and to those who have not *Leisure* or *Application* to go through *Great Works*, they
afford

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afford that Knowledge which they would otherwise totally want.

As to your Performance, your Modesty prevents my saying any thing of it to your self. And it will Recommend it self to others, nothing the more for an *Epistolary* Friend.

Instead of all which, I joyn heartily with you, in beseeching God Almighty to give his Blessing to it. To Direct and Prosper this and all your other Labours, for his *Glory*, and the Good of his Afflicted *Church*. And to send more *Labourers* into his *Harvest* in this Time of need. That he may not yet Remove our *Candlestick*, for all that we have done. But to *Heal* the *Breaches* of our *Sion*, and to *Hasten* his *Kingdom*. Amen.

The Conversion of
St. Paul, 1703.

THE

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK I.

DEsigning to Compose an Historical Account of what has pass'd in the Church, either as to its Government or Propagation, or the Oppositions it has sustain'd from Persecutors or Hereticks, together with a Narrative of the dreadful Recompences inflicted by *Christ* upon his Crucifiers, the mighty Supports afforded his Martyrs and Confessors, and the several Instances of his most Auspicious Protection, down from his Incarnation to our own times. I shall in the first place implore the Divine Assistance, and in the next beg a favourable Construction from my Reader, which I may the rather expect,

B

pect, because I am going to tread an unbeaten Path, without any other means of Direction or Materials, beside certain scatter'd Memoirs and Collections; such, however, as amply suffice for demonstrating the Apostolick Succession in all the Churches of the World. And, indeed the Usefulness of such an History appear'd to me so considerable, that I was no longer able to forbear attempting it, especially having formerly publish'd a Compendium of the Work. But before I launch into the Narration it self, it being necessary to premise a few Words concerning *Christ's Divinity and Humanity*, I shall now explain my self upon that fundamental Point, so as to silence those Adversaries who call the Christian Religion a new and upstart Institution, but are desir'd to understand that its Author's Nature and Substance is of an Existence ineffably Eternal; for, *Who shall declare his Generation? No one has known the Father but the Son, and no one the Son but the Father*; with whom, and from whom he subsisted from everlasting, the glorious Minister of his Will, by whom, as he created, so he governs all things, his only begotten Son, truly God, for *in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.* Accordingly Moses assures us, That the Father communicated with him his Counsel of creating Man, where he says, *Let us make Man after our Image.* To the same effect the Psalmist, *He said, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created.*

B.I. of Eusebius Pamphilus. 3

created. The Father pronounc'd his Pleasure, which the Son administer'd. This is he whom the Patriarchs and Prophets, both before and after *Moses*, beheld frequently exhibited before their Eyes, and as frequently receiv'd with Adorations. This is the *Lord God* that appear'd to *Abraham* in a humane Shape, before whom he kneel'd, and to whom he address'd himself in those Words, *Shall not the Lord of the whole Earth judge righteously?* The Scripture cannot lie; nor the Godhead become an Humane Body, so that unless *the Lord of the whole Earth*, in this place, means the first unbegotten Cause of things, which it cannot, it must signify the *Logos* or Word, concerning whom the Psalmist, *He sent out his Word and healed them, and they were saved from their Destruction.* This is that *Lord* that rain'd Fire upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, from the *Lord* out of Heaven; that God who wrestled with *Jacob*, and from whom he call'd the Place where they strove, *the Vision of God*, because he had seen him face to face. Nor were these the *Appearances* of *Angels*, the Scripture ascribing them not, as at other times, to Angels, but to God. Thus again, when he presented himself in the Form of a Man before *Joshuah*, he tells him the place is sanctify'd by his Presence; at which *Joshuah* falls upon his Knees, and acknowledges him *Captain of the Hosts of the Lord*. So we find the place where he talked with *Moses*, consecrated by his Presence, for he was the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, the Wisdom of God before the

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Foundation of the World, *that pitch'd his Tabernacle with Prudence, and called to him Knowledge and Understanding; by whom Princes Rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth; whom the Lord created the beginning of his Ways, before his Works of old, &c.* Thus it pleas'd the Divine Goodness to manifest and declare it self, yet not indifferently to all the Inhabitants of the World, the generality being unworthy of so near a Commerce, partly on account of their first Parents Transgression, but more because of their own Degeneracy, and the salvage and brutish Habits they contracted, till by the Flagrancy of their Provocations, God was mov'd to exert himself in variety of Judgments, and at the same time, that no means might be wanting to rouse them from their Intoxication, his Eternal Son, either by his Angels, or by himself in a visible manner often condescended to an Interview with those few Religious Persons, who laboured to instil good Principles into the Minds of Men, and particularly to those among the Ancient *Hebrews*, for whose farther Edification that People receiv'd their Law by the Prophet *Moses*; nor did the Benefits of this Dispensation extend only to the *Hebrews*, the Legislators and Philosophers every where making use of it to cultivate and reform the rest of Mankind. And the World being thus prepar'd for the Entertainment of his Divine Truths, the Son of God came Incarnate to perform, to teach, and to suffer whatever the Prophets had foretold concerning him; and lastly, to receive

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ceive that Kingdom, that universal, everlasting Dominion, which the Prophet *Daniel* represents him invested with, in the midst of a *Thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousands*. All these Characteristicks are applicable only to the eternal Word Incarnate. But of this we have discours'd at large elsewhere.

Let us next observe how peculiar a Regard the Holy Men of old had to the Words, *Jesus* and *Christ*. *Moses* being commanded to make all things according to the Pattern shew'd him in the Mount; assign'd the Title of *Christos* or *Anointed* to the High-Priest, the Person invested with the next immediate Dignity to God himself; as afterwards he express'd his devout Esteem for the word *Jesus*, unknown altogether before his time, when pursuant to the Analogy of its Importance, he assign'd it to his Successor, *Auses*, as being that Illustrious Name which was afterwards to belong to the great Captain of our Salvation: By the same Denominations have the rest of the Prophets distinguish'd him. Thus *Jeremiah*, *The anointed of the Lord was taken in their Pits*: Thus *David*, *The Kings of the Earth stood up, and the Rulers took counsel against the Lord, or against his Christ or Anointed*. *The Lord said unto me, thou art my Son*, &c. And to typify the same, *Jesus Christ*, the Great Prophet, High-Priest, and King over all; as well the Kings as High-Priests among the *Hebrews*, and so some of the Prophets too, were anointed with Oyl. Not that

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any of those who thus prefigur'd him, attain'd an Eminency equal to his, from whose Name they who were under his Subjection receiv'd the Denomination of Christians, paying him Divine Honours, and after his Departure laying down their Lives for his sake, he having receiv'd his Sacerdotal, Regal, and Prophetical Unction from his Father, a Spiritual, Proper, and a Plenary Inauguration, whereby he was commission'd, according to *Isaiah, To Preach the Gospel to the Poor, &c.* being that God, whose *Throne endures for ever, the Scepter of whose Kingdom is a Scepter of Righteousness, anointed with the Oyl of gladness above his Fellows; the Lord to whom his Father said, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thy Foes thy footstool; the Eternal Priest after the Order of Melchisedech, in regard Melchisedech deriv'd not his Priesthood from the ordinary Unction of the Hebrews, or according to their Succession; but before the beginning of the Day, which implies, from all Eternity, as our Saviour, the only One that was ever among all Nations acknowledg'd and ador'd as Christ, the great High-Priest of God, the Supreme Prophet and King, the eternally begotten Word of God, truly and really God, whose Servants so sincerely and fervently Worship him; that they had rather be made a Sacrifice themselves than renounce him.*

Having vindicated the Person of *Christ* from the Imputation of Novelty, I must do the same Justice also to his Doctrine. No sooner had
Christ

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Christ made his publick Appearance in the World, but he gather'd to himself a very numerous Society from all the Quarters, and arm'd them with the invincible Protection of God himself. 'Twas upon the prospect of this that the Prophet expresses his Transport and Amazement, *Has the Earth brought forth in one Day? And is a whole Nation born at one Birth?* And these are those *Servants of God*, who were to bear a new Name, which should be blessed in the Earth. 'Tis true, the Name of Christian Professors is of a later date, but the Precepts of Christianity are as old as the Laws of Nature, and have been perpetually inculcated by good Men, particularly of the *Hebrew Nation*, that ancient People, in whose Records are contain'd many Instances of Piety and Virtue, both before and after the Flood; and among the rest, *Abraham*, from whom the *Hebrews* are descended; now all those were in Fact but so many *Christians*, both as to Faith and Manners, as exempt as we from the Burthen of the *Mosaical* Observances, and so far admitted to the knowledge of *Christ*, that he visibly held Conferences with them, and calls them his *Christs*, his anointed *Servants*. Besides, *Abraham's* Justification preceding his Circumcision, and being accompanied with the Benediction, that in him all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed, which Promise is fulfilled in us Christians, whose Religion and Practices are so exactly conformable to *Abraham's*; 'tis evident that Christianity is so little of an Innovation, that it was the sole

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and Sovereign Rule to the Pious People of the earliest Ages. But now, to begin our History under the benevolent Direction of the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and the only Son of that Almighty Father.

In the Forty second Year of *Augustus's* Reign, and the Twenty eighth from the Death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, at the time of *Quirinius's* Census, our Saviour *Jesus Christ* was Born in *Bethlem* of *Judea*, as the Prophets had fore-shewn. Of this Census, the celebrated *Flavius Josephus* has made mention; and at the same time of the first appearing of the Sect of the *Galileans*, mention'd *Acts* 3. who relates, That this *Quirinius* was a well experienc'd and dignify'd Senator, and that *Cesar* sent him in the Quality of a Governor to make this Census, which one *Judas Gaulanites*, in Conjunction with *Sadducus*, a *Pharisee*, represented as an infallible Omen of approaching Slavery, and so made it a Pretence to incite the People to Rebellion. About the same time, according to the Prediction of the Patriarch, ceas'd the the Succession of the *Jewish* Political Governors, and the *Roman* Powers bestow'd the Scepter upon *Herod*, a Stranger; by Birth, if *Josephus* rightly informs us, half an *Idumean*, and half an *Arabian*; or according to *Africanus* and others, the Son of *Antipater*, and Grandson of one *Herod* that belong'd to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Ascalon*, whose Son *Antipater*, during his Confinement in the Hands of certain *Idumean* Ravagers, that had made him their Prisoner in his

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his Childhood, was educated as a *Jew*, and contracted an Intimacy with *Hyrcauus* the *Jewish* High-Priest. Thus by a particular course of Providences were the Words of the Prophets verify'd, when the Accession of *Herod* to the Crown usher'd in the Expectation of the *Gentiles*, the Series of the *Jewish* Magistrates then failing, which had hitherto continued from the time of *Moses* and *Joshua* in the Persons of their Judges, Kings, and High-Priests, till *Jerusalem* was taken by *Pompey*, who made it Tributary to *Rome*, and transferr'd the Sacerdotal Power from *Aristobulus* to his Brother *Hyrcauus*, and after that *Hyrcauus* fell into the Hands of the *Parthians*, *Augustus* and the Senate conferr'd it upon *Herod*: A Change which as it was ordain'd to accompany *Christ's* Incarnation, so it brought Confusion upon the Succession of the High-Priesthood, both *Herod* and his Son *Archelaus*, and the *Roman* Prefects after them, instated Persons of ordinary Condition in that Dignity, and keeping the Priestly Vestments under Lock and Key; thus becoming the Instruments of the Completion of *Daniel's* Prophecy, in relation to the time when the Uñction of the *Jewish* Priests was to have a Period.

And here it seems advisable to reconcile the seemingly-inconsistent Genealogies of *Christ* in *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*; and this we shall do after the Method of *Africanus*, who distinguishing between the *Natural Posterity*, those that were begotten in a right Line, and the *Legal*

or

or *Collateral*, when the Brother rais'd up Seed unto his Brother, interprets one Evangelist according to the first part of his Distinction, and the other according to the latter. Thus by St. *Matthew's* reckoning down from *Solomon*, *Matthan* comes in as the Father of *Jacob*, and the Grandfather of *Joseph*; by St. *Luke's*, from *Nathan* the Son of *David*, *Melchi* appears as the Father of *Heli*, and the Grandfather of *Joseph*. It remains to be enquir'd how *Jacob* and *Heli* came to be Brothers, and both of them to be call'd alike, the Father as *Matthan*, and *Melchi* the Grandfather of *Joseph*. Now the Mystery of it is this, that *Matthan* descended from *Solomon*, and *Melchi* descended from *Nathan*, had by the same Woman two Sons, the first *Jacob*, the latter (after *Matthan's* Decease) *Heli*, who therefore were Brothers by the Mother's side; *Heli* dies, and by his Widow, *Jacob* has *Joseph*, his own *Natural* Off-spring, and *Heli's* *Legal*. This being observ'd, St. *Matthew's* Descending Genealogy exquisitely agrees with St. *Luke's* Ascending; and how it comes to pass that both are so accurately deliver'd, we learn from what our Saviour's Relations have imparted to Posterity, that *Herod*, till whose time the *Hebrews* had preserv'd in their Archives the Genealogies, both of their own Families, and those of their Profelytes, looking upon such Monuments as a Reproach to the Meanness of his own Extraction, adjudg'd them to the Flames; yet it was not in his Power to erase them out of the Memory, or the private Transcripts

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Transcripts of some of the best Families, among whom were our Saviour's Relations, call'd from him *Desposunoi*, who in their Dispersion collected their Genealogy, as aforesaid. And this is the best Account we can give of the Genealogies of the Evangelists, in which, by the way, it must not be forgotten that the Blessed Virgin is *implicitly* concern'd; the *Mosaic* Institution requiring that she should be of the same Tribe and Lineage with *Joseph*, in order to their Espousals.

No sooner *Christ* was Born, but *Herod*, whom certain *Magi*'s had put into a Consternation by their enquiries after a New-born King and God, examines the Doctors of the Law about the Place of his Nativity, and being inform'd that it must be *Bethlem*; to secure his Crown upon his Head, and prevent the possibility of a Competition, he commands that all the Infants born there within the space of two Years, from the time that the *Magi* made their Enquiries, be put to the Sword, presuming *Jesus* would perish in the number, but upon the warning of an Angel *Jesus* was carried into *Egypt*; and soon after *Herod* receiv'd in a very extraordinary manner the just Fruits of his Impiety and Inhumanity, not only in the many dismal Calamities which befel his Wife, and Children, and all his Family, for whose Interest and Splendor he propos'd to provide by such bloody Expedients; but in respect of those heavy Judgments, which as an Anticipation of Eternal Torments the Justice of God inflicted on

on his Person, by Inflammations, both External and Internal, complicated with insatiable Cravings, Ulcers, and Wringings of the Intestines, Dropsy, Asthma, Itch, Convulsions, and such a Putrefaction of the Genitals, as bred Swarms of Worms, in all which his own Diviners and Sages read the Vengeance of the offended Deity. However he did not yet despair, but betook himself for Remedy to certain medicinal Waters, on the other side the River *Jordan*, where Bathing, by the Advice of his Physicians, in Oyl, he had died in a fainting Fit, but that the Outcries of his Attendants reviv'd him. And now being out of hope, and return'd to *Jericho*, he calls to him *Salome*, his Sister, and her Husband *Alexander*, tells them he is sensible how much his Death will rejoice the *Jews*, and for a Legacy, orders that immediately upon his Expiring, all such *Jews* as were committed to Custody should be massacred, in order to a general Lamentation at his Decease. And not enduring the Extremity of his Pains, he attempted to dispatch himself, but lived long enough to send a third after two of his Sons, whom he murder'd before, and then ended his Days in miserable Tortures. Whereupon *Joseph* with *Christ* and his Mother left *Egypt*, designing to return into *Judea*; but hearing that *Archelaus* succeeded *Herod*, he went aside into *Galilee*.

Archelaus being depos'd, his Brothers, *Philip*, *Herod*, and *Lyfanius*, presided still over their several Tetrarchies; and in the twelfth Year

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Year of *Tiberius*, *Pontius Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea*, and so continued ten Years, almost to the Death of *Tiberius*, whence appears the spuriousness of the Acts pretended to be enter'd against our Saviour, they bearing date in the seventh Year of *Tiberius*.

In the Fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, and the Fourth of *Pilate's* Procuratorship, *Jesus Christ* being arriv'd at the Age of Thirty Years, or thereabouts, was baptiz'd, and began to Preach, which he continued to do under *Annas* and *Caiphas*, says the Evangelist, that is, from the time when *Annas* bore the Office of High-Priest, to the time when it fell upon *Caiphas*, being not quite Four Years: For *Valerius Gratus* (as the Romans new modell'd the Jewish Rights and Sacerdotal Succession after their own pleasure) having remov'd *Annas*, constituted *Ismael*, the Son of *Baphi*, in his room; and soon after remov'd him, and put in *Eleazar*, the Son of *Annas*; a Year after displac'd *Eleazar*, and constituted *Simon*, the Son of *Camithus*; and in his room, in another Year had past *Joseph*, call'd also *Caiphas*, under whom *Christ* was crucify'd, having selected when he was enter'd upon his Prophe-tick Office, Twelve of his Disciples, dignified with the Title of his *Apostles*, and Seventy to go before him, as his Harbingers, in his Progress.

Not long after, *Herod* the younger beheaded *John*, a Person of singular Sanctity, (says *Josephus*) surnamed *The Baptist*, from his instituting a certain *Baptism* or Washing, which he propos'd

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pos'd not merely for the cleansing of the Body, but requir'd that the Hearts and Minds of those who came to it, should be antecedently purify'd. A mighty Conflux of Profelytes came into *John's* Baptism, which begot a Jealousy in *Herod*; but what more exasperated that Prince, was *John's* rebuking him for putting away his lawful Wife, the Daughter of *Arethas*, King of *Arabia*, and forcible taking his Brother's to his Bed, which occasion'd a War between *Arethas* and him, wherein *Herod* was totally routed, and afterwards on *Herodias's* Account lost his Crown, and was banish'd with her to *Vienna*. The Justice of Heaven pouring down terrible Retributions upon him for the Blood of *John*, whom he had sent a Prisoner to the Castle of *Macherum*, and afterwards beheaded.

Of our Saviour the same *Josephus* attests, That he was a wise Man, if indeed he might be call'd a Man; that he wrought amazing Miracles, and taught excellent Doctrines; that he had many Followers, *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that he was *Christ*, that he was crucified under *Pilate*, that his Disciples notwithstanding adhered firmly to him, that he rose the third Day according to the Prophets, and left a Society call'd *Christians*, that had continued to his own time. All which amounts to an abundant disproof of the forg'd *Acts* against St. *John* the Baptist, and our Saviour.

Of the Seventy Disciples (for the Names of the Apostles are known) were *Barnabas*, *Se-*
sthenes,

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sthenes, as *Clemens* informs us in his *Hypotyposes*; *Cephas*, whom *St. Paul* withstood at *Antioch*, a Namesake of *St. Peter's*; *Matthias* and his Fellow-Candidate; *Thaddæus*, of whom we shall say more presently, and *James* related to our Lord. But here it must be observ'd, That *Christ* had more than Seventy Disciples, as we learn from the Testimony of *St. Paul* speaking of *Christ's* appearing to Five hundred Brethren at once: As also, that others were call'd Apostles besides the Twelve, as when *St. Paul* immediately subjoyns, *And then he was seen of all the Apostles*. What we have to relate concerning *Thaddæus*, is this.

Among the many Diseased, that applied themselves to *Christ* upon the Fame of his Miracles, was the good King *Agbarus* of *Edeffa*, labouring under a desperate Distemper, who sent a suppliant Letter to our Saviour, which imported, that having heard of the astonishing Cure he had wrought, the *Demoniacks* he had rescued, and the Dead he had rais'd, he address'd to him, as to God himself, or the Son of God, beseeching him to come and relieve him, and take up his Residence with him, where he should live out of the reach of the *Jews*. To which *Christ* replied in a Letter, *Blessed art thou, Agbarus, that hast believed on me before thou hast seen me, for it is written of me, that they who have seen me should not believe on me, that they who have not seen me, believing may inherit Life. As for thy Desire that I would come to thee, I must accomplish*
all

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all things for which I am sent, and when I have accomplish'd them, return to him that sent me: But when I am departed, I will send one of my Disciples to thee, who shall Cure thy Distemper, and bring Life both to thy self and thine. Accordingly after his Ascension, the Apostle Thomas, by an extraordinary Direction, sent Thaddæus for the purposes mention'd, of which, and his Miracles in the Name of Jesus after his coming to Edessa, Agbarus being advertised, sent for him, and so soon as he saw him approaching, and observ'd in his Countenance something that, as he thought, spoke him no common Mortal, to the great Admiration of the By-standers, did him Obeisance, and ask'd him if he was a Disciple of Jesus, the Son of God. Thaddæus made answer, That he was sent thither in that Name to assist him in Proportion to the encrease of his Faith. My Faith (said Agbarus) is such, That but for fear of the Romans, I would have extirpated the Nation that crucify'd him. He has now (said Thaddæus) executed his Father's Commands, and is reascended to him. I believe (answer'd Agbarus) both in him and his Father. At which Profession, Thaddæus by Imposition of Hands in the Name of Jesus restor'd him to perfect Health; and at the same time, one Abdus who languish'd under the Gout, besides many others. These were such stupendious Arguments of a Divine Interposition, as made Agbarus very inquisitive concerning all particulars that related to Jesus, and Thaddæus promis'd to satisfy

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satisfy him therein, but oblig'd him to Summon his Subjects, that they might be present at the Narration, accordingly *Agbarus* commanded them to attend the next Day. And when the Apostle had ended his Instructions, and all the Business of his Errand, the King made him rich Presents, but he declar'd that as he had voluntarily rid his hands of those Incumbrances, so he would not receive them at another's. With this Account we are furnish'd from the publick Records of the City of *Edessa*.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK II.

FROM these Transactions during *Christ's* Residence on Earth, we come to a View of the Times after his Ascension, which were scarce commenc'd when *Matthias* was substituted an Apostle, in the room of *Judas*; and Seven *Deacons* were ordain'd by the Apostles, of which number was *Stephen*, the first that purchas'd with his Blood that glorious Crown which his Name imply'd, as *James* the Just, and Brother of our Lord, (being the Son of *Joseph*) had the Honour to be consecrated the first Bishop of *Jernsalem*, without any Emulation (as *Clemens* observes in his *Institutions*) on the part of *Peter* and *John*, tho they had equally

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thar'd with him the especial Favour of our Lord, and receiv'd the *Gnosis*, or *Gift of Knowledge*, from him after his Resurrection, which the other Apostles and the Seventy Disciples deriv'd from those three. This was that St. James mention'd, *Gal. 1. ver. 19.* not he that was be-headed. And now, upon the Martyrdom of Stephen the first Persecution broke forth, wherein Paul was so furious an Instrument, and dispers'd the Apostles through *Judea* and *Samaria*, *Phenice*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*. In this Dispersion they preach'd only to the *Jews*; Philip a Deacon, retiring to *Samaria*, where he publish'd the Gospel, brought by force of Miracles to the acknowledgment of its Truth, among many others, the famous Magician, *Simon*, esteem'd by his Creatures the *Great Power of God*, who nevertheless pretended to embrace Christianity with no other design than his Imps have profess'd it after him, to wriggle himself into the Church that he might the better undermine it; but being afterwards detected by St. Peter, he was made an Example of, as were they by the Sentence of the Church; which in spite of all Opposition and Artifices encreas'd, so that *Ethiopia* soon after stretch'd out her Hands unto God, by the means of a great *Ethiopian* Lord, who became the first Fruits of the *Gentile* Converts by the preaching of Philip, specially thereunto commission'd, while Paul, by an immediate Declaration from Heaven, was ordain'd an Apostle, (*the chosen Vessel*) neither from Men, nor by Men, but by the Revelation of *Jesus Christ*.
And

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And as if it were not sufficient that the Church alone should be instrumental in promoting its own Glory: *Pilate* according to a political Rule of communicating to the Emperor all remarkable Events and Occurrences, dispatch'd to *Tiberius* a Narrative of *Christ's* Resurrection, and other Miracles, and of his being believed on by many, as God, which *Tiberius* signify'd to the Senate, but they rejected the Motion, and pretended that their Authority should in Point of Law have been first consulted, the Wisdom of God thus ordaining least the Concurrence of the Powers of this World should seem to have been necessary for the Establishment of the Gospel. However *Tiberius* retain'd his first Sentiments, and not only forbore to molest the *Christians*, but moreover threaten'd those that should presume to inform against them.

It cannot be conceiv'd within how short a Period the Christian Doctrine, under the glorious Conduct of its Author, diffus'd it self over the Face of the Earth by the Mouths of his Evangelists and Apostles: *Their Sound went forth into all Lands, and their Words into the Ends of the World.* Both in City and Country were Churches every where planted, and the *Gentiles* throwing off the Yoke of their Idolatry and Superstition, and bidding open Defiance to the *Demons* that had enslav'd them, resign'd themselves entirely to the Service of their Creator, and the Religion which his Son had promulg'd. Among the earliest Converts of this kind,

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was *Cornelius* of *Cæsarea*, initiated by *St. Peter*, and a large number of the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, the City which gave Birth to the Name of *Christians*, and where *Agabus* then prophecy'd of an approaching Famine, the same that occasion'd the Journey of *St. Paul* and *Barnabas* to *Jerusalem*, to carry Relief to the Brethren.

Tiberius having reign'd Twenty two Years, *Caius Caligula* succeeded, in whose Reign flourish'd *Philo*, the Darling as well of the *Gentiles*, as of his own Country-men, the *Jews*. He was a Nobleman of *Alexandria*, eminently skill'd in all Points of the *Jewish* Religion, and the leading *Platonist* and *Pythagorean* of his time. This *Philo*, when the Heathens of *Alexandria* sent *Apion* and two others to incense the Emperor against the *Alexandrian Jews*, and remonstrate to him that they laugh'd at the Notion of his Divinity, was deputed along with two others, by the *Jews* his Country-men, to make their Defence; but when the Emperor would not hear him, he told the *Jews*, perceiving how much they were terrify'd, That the fiercer the Emperor's Rage was against them, the fiercer would be the Rage of God against him, and therefore bid them take Courage. The History of his Negotiation he has drawn up himself, which contains, that *Sejanus* at *Rome* did all the ill Offices he could to the *Jews*, while *Pilate* gave them great Disturbance in *Judea*; and that afterwards *Caligula* took a singular Satisfaction in oppressing the *Jews*, commanding them to transfer their Adorations

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Adorations to him, and dedicating their Temple, till then unprophan'd, and an Asylum to his own Divinity. Agreeable hereunto, *Josephus*, who makes the Calamities of the *Jews* take their beginning from the time of *Pilate*, tells us, that *Pilate* brought Images of *Cæsar* into *Jerusalem*, which was such a Pollution, as quite confounded the *Jews*, and prov'd to their Sorrow that Heaven had ratify'd that Choice of theirs, *to have no other King but Cæsar*. Soon after they felt farther Effects of the same Recognition, when *Pilate* defray'd his Expences upon an *Aqua-duct* out of their *Corban*. This Provocation made them Mutiny, and oblig'd *Pilate* to give a Signal to some disguis'd Soldiers, whose Orders were, that they should only make use of Clubs to fall upon them, which they did, and put an end to their Clamours, and the Lives too of a great many of them. And thus they were all along tost and torn with perpetual Distractions, down to the Catastrophe of their Tragedy, in the time of *Vespasian*. Neither did the Equity of God forget the Sentence which *Pilate* had pronounced against his Son, but cast likewise upon him such a load of Calamities, that in the Conclusion he became his own Executioner.

After *Caligula*, *Claudius* obtain'd the Imperial Power, whose Government was attended with that universal Famine foretold by *Agabus*, mention'd also by Prophane Historians, when (according to *Josephus*) *Helena*, Queen of the *Adiabeni*, reliev'd the Necessities of the In-

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digent with a mighty Stock of Corn she had bought up out of *Egypt*. In the same Reign, a Persecution was rais'd by *Herod*, wherein suffer'd *James*, the Brother of *John*, having by the boldness of his Confession (as *Clemens* relates in his *Institutions*) prevail'd upon the Informer to declare himself a Christian. So that as they were going to Execution, he begg'd St. *James's* Pardon, which when he had seal'd to him with a Benediction and a Kiss, they were both beheaded. It was intended that *Peter* should follow him, but an Angel brought him timely Deliverance, and to *Herod* the unexpected Reward of his Cruelty; for upon the Celebration of a Publick Festivity in Honour of *Cesar*, being adorn'd with very splendid Robes, he deliver'd himself in an Oration before a very numerous Audience, and was answer'd in loud Acclamations, that it must be a God, not a Man, that spoke to them. And in these blasphemous Flatteries he encourag'd them, till observing over his Head a menacing Angel, and perceiving the approaches of Death by the Tortures he felt in his Bowels, he express'd a sudden Dejection, and told the Assembly that their God must now bid adieu to all his Grandeur, and immediately under the Stroak of Heaven give them a sad Proof of his Mortality. Then he was carried Home, and five Days after, neither the publick Deprecations of all his Subjects, nor his own Tears availing, he died in the Seventh Year of his Reign. It is very observable how nicely St. *Luke* and *Josaphus*

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phus agree in all the parts of this Story; the latter of whom has also furnish'd us with a Testimony to the Truth of what the former intimates in the *Acts* concerning *Theudas*, to this effect, That in the time of *Fadus's* Procuratorship, *Theudas* a Magician, persuaded a considerable Body of Men that he was a Prophet, and would divide the Waters of *Jordan* for their Passage, if they'd follow him over, and carry their Wealth along with them. But *Fadus's* Troopers quickly spoil'd their Campaigning, and *Theudas* was taken, and his Head carry'd to *Jerusalem*.

While God was thus employing the Shafts of his Displeasure against the Crucifiers of *Christ*, the grand Adversary was plying his Engines at *Rome* against the *Christian* Religion. The principal of his Emissaries, was *Simon* the Magician, who so strangely amus'd and infatuated the People of *Rome* with his Necromancies and Legerdemain, that they declared him a God, and erected a Statue to him, which had this Inscription, *To Simon the Holy God*. As such did the *Samaritans* likewise Honour him, together with his trusty Hand-maid, *Helena*, whom he had taken to himself out of the Stews at the City *Tyre*; and recommended as the *πρῶτη ἐννοια*, *The first Conception of his own Divinity*, as himself was indeed the first Ringleader and Introducer of Heresies, the Parent of an accursed Sect, not even yet extinct, who assuming the Denomination of *Christians*, give themselves up to a new Species of Paganism by the Devotions

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tions they pay to the Pictures and Images of *Simon* and his *Helena*, not to mention for Modesty the absurd and unparallel'd Obscenities of their *Mysteries*. But though *Simon* was permitted to gain so vast an Esteem, and possess the Souls of his Admirers to such a degree, that he was list'd among the Deities of the *Romans*; yet it was only that his Defeat might so much the more signalize the Power and Greatness of the Divine Majesty, as it appear'd early when he came under the terrible Correction of that eminent Apostle, *St. Peter*, who expos'd the Blackness of his hellish Arts, and made him glad to get away into the *Western* Parts of the World, whither the Apostle pursued him, and not only broke the heart of all his Machinations, but prosperously display'd to those Regions the blessed Sunshine of the Evangelical Doctrines, which those of *Rome* entertain'd with such a zealous Chearfulness, that not contented with what *Peter* inculcated by word of Mouth, they importun'd *St. Mark*, (who attended him, and is the same whom he calls his Son, in his first Epistle dated from *Babylon*, suppos'd to be *Rome*) that he would commit to Paper a Narrative and Scheme of the Christian Establishment, which he did; and *St. Peter*, by the Instruction of the Holy Ghost, consecrated the Work to the publick and perpetual Use of the Churches. This, as *Clemens* and *Papias* assure me, was the Original of *St. Mark's* Gospel, which he afterwards preach'd in *Egypt*, at what time he planted Churches in *Alexandria*.

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dria, the Members whereof injoyn'd themselves a Course of Life so very rigid and mortifying; that *Philo* has given us the Detail of their Character, in which is very obvious the Conformity between theirs and our present Ecclesiastical Discipline. The Name he calls them by, is *Therapeutæ*, signifying them to be a sort of *Spiritual Physicians*, and a *Society of vigilant Worshippers*. To exempt themselves from the Interruptions of worldly concerns and Conversation; the first thing they did, was to make over what Fortunes they had to their Kindred, and court Retirement. This was certainly the Practice of those Disciples, who sold their Lands and Possessions, and laid the Prices of them at the Apostles Feet. Hardly any Countries of the World (continues my Author) are without some of them, tho' they're most numerous in *Egypt*, and about *Alexandria*.

On the other side the Lake *Maria*, upon an Hill, they have several Churches and Monasteries, whither the Worthiest of them Travel from all Parts, without any other Furniture or *Vaticum*, than the Inspir'd, and other Books of Piety. Here in privacy they perform Religious Exercises, spending the Day in Philosophical Meditations, reading Holy Books, and explaining Allegories, which they suppose their Authors to abound with, having recourse to the Commentaries preserv'd by them, of the earliest of their Predecessors, by which *Commentaries* we may fairly understand the Writings of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, and their Expositions
upon

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upon several Parts of the *Prophets*. Add to these, as another Argument of their being *Christians*, the Solemnity of their Musical Compositions in Honour of God. They neither Eat nor Drink till Sun-set, deferring the Relief of Nature's Necessities to the Obscurity of a small part of the Night. Some of them fast three Days together, Temperance being in their Opinion the Basis of all other Virtues. Nay, some amongst them find Abstinence so delicious and sublime a Gratification, that they will Fast five or six Days together. To the same Societies belong Women that voluntarily abide in a State of perpetual Virginity, being ambitious of no other than Spiritual Pleasure and Spiritual Posterity. They Expound their Sacred Volumes in an Allegorical Way, comparing the Letter of them, to the Body, and the Sense of them, with which they chiefly labour to acquaint themselves, to the Soul. But to put the matter past Controversy, that his *Therapeutæ* were certainly *Christians*, it may suffice to refer the Reader to *Philo's* Treatise, where he will see how exactly the Parts and Circumstances of their whole Regulation answer to ours, their Assemblies, the separate Apartments and Exercises of their Men and Women, their Feasts, Fasts, Vigils, Reading of the Scriptures, Hymns, and the manner of Singing them, their Lying upon the Ground, and Subsisting upon only Water, Salt, and *Hyssop*, in the Passion-Week, and the Division of their Superiors, according to the
several

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several Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

Beside *Philo's* Book of a Contemplative Life, from whence we have extracted the foregoing Passage, he has wrote very lofty and elegant Commentaries upon several Books, and abstruse Texts of Scripture, and upon other miscellaneous Matters: Two of Agriculture; two of Drunkenness; one upon the Question, What a well-dispos'd Soul desires and declines; one of the Confusion of Languages; one of avoiding and pursuing of conversing with humane Literature; of Division into equal and unequal Parts; of the Virtues which *Moses* describes; of the Change of Names; of unwritten Laws; of God's Immutability; of Revelation by Dreams, five Books; of the Tabernacle; of the Decalogue, and the Species of Laws included in the Ten General Precepts, four Books; of Animals for Sacrifice, and the several sorts of Sacrifices; of the Rewards, Punishments, and Imprecations, which are specify'd in the Law; of Providence; of the *Jews*; of a publick Station; of Reason in Brutes; of the wicked Man's Slavery, and the good Man's Privileges; Interpretations of the *Hebrew* Names in the Law and the Prophets; and his Invective against *Caligula*, entituled sarcastically *περὶ ἀντι-τῶν*, *Of Virtue*, which in *Claudius's* time he spoke in the Senate-house, and so much to the Satisfaction of the Audience, that his Works had ever after a place in the publick Libraries.

To

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To return to the Series of our History ; upon *Claudius's* banishing the *Jews*, *Aquila* and *Priscilla* with others fled into *Asia*, and con-
 sorted with *St. Paul* ; but the Terrors which
 occasion'd this Flight, was no more than Pre-
 lufory to the Tempest which fell upon the *Jews*,
 when in an Uproar at *Jerusalem*, at the Feast
 of the *Passover* they trod one another to Death,
 even in and about the Gates of the Temple, to
 the number of Thirty thousand, while their
 twofold Subjection is continued ; to *Agrip-
 pa*, his Father's Successor in the Regal Autho-
 rity, and to *Felix* exercising the *Procuratorial*,
 though both were not of force enough to re-
 strain them from the bloodiest Acts of Civil Vio-
 lence. A Feud broke out between the High-
 Priests and the Priests, and their several Parties,
 which by Impunity grew into such a head-
 strong Cumbustion, that the High-Priests would
 seize of course upon the Tithes of the Priests,
 and Starve them, unless their Throats were
 first cut before-hand (as it was the fate of the
 High-Priest *Jonathan*) by the Troops of As-
 sassins arm'd secretly with *Stiletto's*, which as
 often as they made use of, their way was im-
 mediately to cry out Murder with the first
 comers, and so to escape Discovery, though
 they murder'd at Mid-day: Yet this Destru-
 ction was tolerable in comparison of that which
 the *Egyptian* Magician, taking upon him the
 Prophet (mention'd *Acts* 21. c. 38. v.) brought
 upon them, when he march'd out of the Wil-
 derness, as far as to the Mount of *Olives* with
 his

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his Thirty thousand at his Heels, and was hastening to make himself Master of *Jerusalem*, and its Government; but that *Felix* came in his way, gave him Battel, and kill'd or took Prisoners almost all the Rioters, but the *Egyptian* himself, who made his Escape.

After *Felix* came *Festus*, the same that sent *St. Paul* to *Cesar's* Tribunal at *Rome*; whence, after his two Years Restraint, he travell'd to spread the Gospel, then return'd to *Rome*, and there suffer'd Martyrdom, having wrote a little time before his Second Epistle to *Timothy*, wherein he speaks of his *first Defence*, and his being deliver'd out of the Mouth of the Lion, meaning *Nero*, and signifies the nearness of the time of his Departure and Dissolution, which makes it evident, that he did not Suffer till after his second coming to *Rome*, when, as he says, *Luke* only was with him, who was not with him at his *first Defence*, and who therefore continues his Book of the *Acts of the Apostles*, to no longer a Period than while he constantly attended *St. Paul*.

It has been already told how *St. James* the Just, was consecrated Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and, from *Clement*, how he suffer'd Martyrdom, but we must by no means omit what so ancient an Historian, as *Hegesippus*, has left us upon Record relating to this Matter. He says, That *St. James*, as being sanctify'd from the Womb, abjur'd all the ordinary Satisfactions of Life, and was the only Person that had free Access into the Holy of Holies. So assiduously did he
offer

offer up his Supplications in behalf of the People, that his Knees grew Callous like a Camel's. He was also surnam'd *Oblias*, denoting him *the Bulwark and Righteousness of the People*. He asserted so generously, and prov'd the Truth of the Christian Religion, that the joynt Endeavours of the Seven Sects of the *Jews* prevented not his profelyting a great number, even of the *Sanhedrim*, which so disturb'd and exasperated the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that they accosted St. *James* in a Body, requiring him, that as he would answer his own Illustrious and Authoritative Character, he would publickly from the Top of the Temple, upon the next Passover, undeceive the People as to the general mistake concerning *Jesus*. And the Day being come, and the Holy Man plac'd aloft upon the Temple, the *Rabbi's* after they had passed their Complements of Derision upon him, and beseech'd him that he would use his Authority to convince the Multitude of their Error, in their having embrac'd the Christian Belief: To whom St. *James* reply'd aloud, *Why do you enquire concerning Jesus, the Son of Man? He is seated in Heaven at the Right Hand of Omnipotence, and shall come again in the Clouds of Heaven.* At this Profession, *Hosannahs* were eccho'd below to *Jesus, the Son of David*, and the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* now more than ever enrag'd at so mischievous a Disappointment, run up to the Top of the Temple exclaiming, and threw him off; but Life remaining in him after the fall, so that he

B.II. of Eusebius Pamphilus. 33

he was able to Pray for his Persecutors in the Words of our Saviour; notwithstanding the Intercessions of one of the Priests of the Children of *Rechab*, they began to Stone him, and at last his Brains were dash'd out with a Fuller's Club. So fell this blessed Martyr, and was bury'd upon the place where his Column is still standing. For whose Memory the most sensible of the *Jews*, and particularly *Josephus*, had so serious a Veneration, that they imputed the final Vengeance which soon after overtook *Jerusalem*, to the crying of his righteous Blood, as they did likewise the Disgrace which befel *Ananus*, the High-Priest, a profligate, harden'd *Sadducee*, who had seiz'd the advantage of a Vacancy in the Civil Prefecture by the Death of *Festus*, to have St. *James*, and some others, dispatch'd out of the way. This the more considering sort took so heinously, that Application was made not only to King *Agrippa*, but to *Albinus*, the succeeding Procurator, even before he could reach *Jerusalem*, pursuant whereunto *Albinus* sent Messages full of Terror to *Ananus*, and *Agrippa* divested him of the Pontificate, which he conferr'd upon *Jesus*, the Son of *Dammaus*.

There is a Catholick Epistle written by St. *James*, which, as also that of St. *Jude*, tho not mention'd by many of the Ancients, yet is certainly Canonical, as having been receiv'd by most Churches. In the eighth Year of *Nero* died St. *Mark*, and left *Amianus*, an Excellent
D Person,

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Person, his Successor in the See of *Alexandria*.

And now was that Juncture of time when *Nero* grown up to an accomplish'd Prodigy of Inhumanity, having massacred for his Diversion an innumerable Multitude of his Subjects, and among the rest his Mother, Brothers, Wife, and almost all his Relations and Friends, to crown the Transports of his Violence and Impiety, commences the first Persecuting Emperor, indeed the worthiest in all Respects to lead the way, and *St. Paul* is beheaded, *St. Peter* crucify'd; both, according to *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*, at one time, and in the City of *Rome*, where is to be seen the Inscription of their Monuments at this Day, says *Caius*, who flourish'd under *Zephyrinus*, Bishop of *Rome*, in his Book against *Proculus*, where he boasts of the Monuments of those two Eminent Apostles, the one fixt in the *Vatican*, the other in the *Via Ostiensis*.

Yet herein were the Wisdom and Justice of God most conspicuous, that as much as the Christians suffer'd by *Nero's* Persecution, the *Jews* still suffer'd much more in the miserable Effects of God's growing Indignation; for now things were come to that-pass, that *Florus*, the then Procurator, both scourg'd and crucify'd, as they had us'd their Lord, the *Jewish* Nobility, in the Streets of *Jerusalem*, which provoked them to take up Arms,
and

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and the consequence was, that they were knock'd o'the Head, as out-law'd, where-ever they were found, and the Cities of *Syria* the Seat of the Commotion, bestrow'd with stript and unbury'd Carcasses of their Infants, their Elders, and their Women. All which with a thousand worse Disasters and Devastations, were infinitely exceeded by the prospect of far greater Evils gathering.

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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK III.

IN the mean time the Apostles were publishing the Gospel through all Quarters of the World, as they severally dispers'd themselves; St. Thomas in Parthia, St. Andrew in Scythia, St. John in Asia, St. Paul from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, St. Peter to the Jews in Pontus, Galatia, Bythinia, Cappadocia, and Asia. The last of these was succeeded in the Bishoprick of Rome by Linus, mention'd in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy; which Epistle, with the other Thirteen of the same Apostle, have been universally receiv'd for Canonical, though some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, because it has been

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doubted in the Church of *Rome* whether it was written by *St. Paul*. As for *St. Peter's Epistles*, the first is undoubted, and quoted by the Ancients as such; but the second was not heretofore counted Scripture, tho' for the Usefulness of it, read along with the inspir'd Books, as is at this Day the *Pastor* (a Book so entituled) of *Hermas*, mention'd in *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, which is quoted by some of the most Ancient Authors, not on the score of any Divine Authority, but for the Profitableness of its Matter. Nor is it by any means equal in Authority to the Second Epistle of *St. Peter*, which a very competent number of Vouchers has declar'd to be of Divine Inspiration. Much weaker yet are the Pretensions of the Books, entituled, *The Acts, the Gospel, the Preaching and Revelation of St. Peter*; for these never pass'd with any Body for *Catholick*. The Divine Authority of the first Epistle of *St. John*, and also of his Revelation has been, the first universally, the latter sufficiently acknowledged. The Second and Third Epistles which bear his Name, though possibly penn'd by another of that Name, have been doubted by some, but generally receiv'd; so have the Epistles of *St. James* and *St. Jude*. The *Acts of St. Paul*, the *Epistle of St. Barnabas*, the *Institutions of the Apostles*, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, (in great Esteem with the *Jewish Converts*) are all *Spurious*; and so are the Gospels of *St. Peter*, *St. Thomas*, *St. Matthias*, and others; and the *Acts of St. Andrew, St. John*, and the

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the like; all the Issue of *Heretical Contrivance*, unmention'd by any of the Successors of the Apostle, utterly destitute of the Simplicity of the Apostolick Stile, and, as to the Matter of them, *Heterodox, Absurd, and Abominable*.

In the See of *Rome*, after *Linus* succeeded *Clemens*, call'd by the Apostle his *Fellow-Labourer* in the Epistle to the *Philippians*; and *Timothy* was the first Bishop of *Ephesus* after *St. John*. *Titus* presided over the Churches of *Crete*; *Crescens*, as himself tells us, *St. Paul* sent into *Gallia*; and, as we learn from *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*, *Dionysius* furnam'd the *Arcopagite*, converted by *Paul's* Sermon in the *Arcopagus*, was the first Bishop of *Athens*.

In the place of *Nero*, when he had been Emperor thirteen Years, reign'd *Galba* and *Otho* (successively) during the space of one Year and an half; after whom *Vespasian* was proclaim'd Emperor, a General that had commanded very successfully against the *Jews*, and was then in *Judea*, but upon this Elevation return'd to *Rome*, and left the Army to the Conduct of his Son *Titus*. The Nation of the *Jews* having first crucify'd the Lord of Glory, and afterwards put to Death some of his Disciples, and persecuted and dispers'd the rest; and all the Believers that were left in *Jerusalem*, upon an extraordinary Warning from God, having withdrawn themselves, before the Enemy had made any Assault upon the City, to a little Town call'd *Pella* on the other side of *Jordan*;

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Omnipotence now manifested it self much more terribly, than it had hitherto done in the Execution of its Justice upon that irreclaimable People. For a more particular Account of the several Calamities and Judgements that beset them, the Reader is referr'd to the History of *Josephus*. Yet one or two of the most remarkable, it may be proper to cite from that Author, as particularly the Fate of the Three hundred thousand *Jews* gathered together at *Jerusalem* from all Parts of *Judea*, upon occasion of the *Paschal* Solemnity, at which time they had crucify'd the *Messiah*. And again, the deplorable Effects of an extream and lasting Famine to compleat the Miseries of the besieged. The Wealthier Part were cut off upon pretended Suspicions of Treachery. And the *Seditious* broke into Houses, where if they found any Corn, they beat and abus'd the Masters for hiding it; if none, they tortur'd them to make them produce; taking it for granted, that whosoever was not at the Point of expiring with Hunger, (and such they left to themselves) had plenty of Provisions. Entire Patrimonies and Estates were secretly commuted for a few handfuls of Corn, and as privately consum'd in an Instant. The stronger forc'd from the weaker, the most loathsome means of Refreshment, and the Wives and Children snatch'd the Morsels from out of the very Mouths of their Husbands and Parents. The Mothers reserv'd for themselves the Milk of the Breast, that should have nourish'd

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rish'd their Infants. The Women that had hoarded any Eatables were dragg'd by the Hair along the Streets, and Children that were found with Meat in their Mouths, had their Brains dash'd out upon the Stones. If one Man was presum'd to be better furnish'd than another, a Stake was run up his Fundament, or a Wire into his Yard, to make him Confess; besides a thousand other Cruelties, and these practis'd generally by such People as were the least distress'd, to prevent their being so. And when in the Night-time any Person had ventur'd out of the Walls, and pick'd up a few Herbs or Roots, to be sure he was seiz'd upon his Return, and if he escap'd with Life, 'twas a Favour, while others just perishing, begg'd in vain to be dispatch'd. All Parts of the City were bestrow'd with Carcasses; and when there could no longer be found Hands to Bury them, they flung them over the Walls, having first barbarously mangled them, and so fill'd up the very Fosses round the City, at which sight *Titus* call'd Heaven to Witness, *That he had not been the Cause.* No Filth or Carrion, though never so foul or putrid, came in their way but they greedily devour'd it, and eat up their Belts, their Shoes, the Leather of their Shields, or any scatterings of musty Hay and Straw, which bore a mighty Price. A certain Woman, the Daughter of *Eleazer*, of a Rich and Noble Family, having been often despoil'd of whatever she collected to support Life, when she could not prevail upon the Plunderers to take
that

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that away too, nor longer resist the Violence of her Passion, and the Extremity of her Want, cut the Throat of her own Sucking Infant, dress'd him, eat half of him, and hid the rest; which being found, she left it to the choice of the Discoverers, either to eat it themselves, or leave it for her. In a word, there were no Calamities that could possibly come upon so wicked a People, for so horrid a Fact, as the Crucifixion of the *Messiah*, but they felt it to the utmost. The Sword and the Famine together, destroy'd to the number of 11000000. Upon the taking of the City, the Seditious cut one another's Throats. Part of the Inhabitants were reserv'd for Triumph, others condemn'd to the Mines in *Egypt*, others to Die in the Theatres, and 90000 of them to perpetual Slavery. And all this exactly, and in every Circumstance, agreeable to what *Christ* had foretold, as whoever compares the Relation of *Josephus* with the Predictions of our Saviour, must immediately acknowledge with Astonishment.

Of this dreadful Desolation, the *Jews* had been premonish'd by a great many surprizing Signs and Prodigies; a Comet in the Form of a Flaming-Sword, which hung over the City for a Year together; a shining Expanse of Light about the Altar in the Night, at the time of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; and a Heifer in the Temple prepar'd for Sacrifice, brought forth a Lamb. The great Brass Door of the Inner-Temple, which the Strength of Twenty Men

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Men could hardly shut, though fasten'd with large Iron Bars that went deep into the Ground, open'd of it self. Some Days after was seen an Apparition of an incredible Size; Chariots and Armies engag'd in the Air, and Cities besieg'd. An Earthquake was felt by the Priests in the Temple, accompany'd with terrible Noises and Voices. Four Years before the War, *Jesus*, the Son of *Ananias*, a *Plebeian*, at the Celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, went through all Parts of the City crying aloud, *A Voice from the East; a Voice from the West; a Voice from the Four Winds; a Voice against Jerusalem and the Temple; a Voice against the Bridegrooms and the Brides; a Voice against the Nation.* And tho' miserably beaten and abus'd by Order of the *Jewish* Rulers, and afterwards fley'd with Scourges to the Bone, he receiv'd the Correction meekly, without desiring Favour, or shedding a Tear; at every Stroak mournfully repeating *Wo, Wo to Jerusalem.* About the same time there was found a Sacred Oracle, or Prophecy, of a certain Person that should then arise out of that Country, and become an Universal King. This *Josephus* applies to *Vespasian*, whose Dominion only extended over the *Roman* Empire; whereas it is applicable to *Christ* alone, to whom said the Father, *Desire of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the utmost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession;* and whose Apostles were then fulfilling that Prophecy of the Psalmist, *Their Sound is gone forth into all Lands, and their Words unto the end of the World.* This

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This *Josephus*, from whom we take the foregoing Account, was Born in *Jerusalem*, and a *Jewish Priest*. He was an active Party in the War, the greatest Man of his time among the *Jews*, not only in theirs, but in the Judgment of the *Romans* themselves, who erected him a Statue in *Rome*, and plac'd his Works in the Publick Library. He wrote the *Antiquities of the Jews*, and the History of the *Jewish War*, in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, and is a very faithful Historian. He wrote beside, two Books against *Appion* and others, in Defence of the *Jews*. In the first of these he asserts the Divine Authority of the Books of the *Old Testament*, and witnesses the profound and pious Veneration, which the Nation of the *Jews* ever had for them. He wrote several other excellent Pieces, particularly his *Maccabaicum*, and had laid the Design of many more; and tells us, for the Authority of his *History*, that Emperors, and other great Men, had given in their Testimony to it; that the Emperor *Titus* had subscrib'd it with his own Hand, and that King *Agrippa* had written Sixty two Epistles, to vouch for the Truth of it.

After the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, the Apostles, Disciples, and Kindred of *Christ*, as many as were remaining, conven'd (as 'tis affirm'd) and chose unanimously, for Successor to *St. James*, *Simeon*, the Son of *Cleopas*, and Nephew to *Christ*, according to *Hegeſippus*, who makes *Cleopas* the Brother of *Joseph*. At the same time *Vespasian* molested the *Jews* afresh,
upon

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upon a Resolution he had taken to extirpate the Posterity of *David*.

After *Vespasian* came *Titus*, in the Second Year of whose Reign *Linus* deceasing, when he had held the See of *Rome* twelve Years, left it to *Anencletus*: And to *Titus* succeeded his Brother *Domitian*, in whose fourth Year *Annius*, the first Bishop of *Alexandria*, deceasing, *Avilius* receiv'd the Chair; as *Clement* (mention'd in the Epistle to the *Philippians*) succeeded upon the Death of *Anencletus*, that had been Bishop twelve Years. This *Clement* wrote a celebrated Epistle to the *Corinthians*, occasion'd by a Schism at *Corinth*, and Read publickly in the Churches at this Day.

The Second Persecution was now set a foot by *Domitian*, and St. *John* the *Evangelist* was banish'd into the Isle of *Patmos*, where (according to *Irenaeus*) he receiv'd his Revelation. To this Persecution, and the Martyrdoms of it, as particularly that of *Flavia Domitilla*, the Consul's Niece, the Enemies of Christianity have born witness upon Record. At the same time *Domitian* being troubled with the Jealousy which *Herod* had formerly receiv'd, order'd Search to be made after such Persons as were of Kin to *Christ*; and the Grandsons of *Judas* (the Brother of *Christ*, according to the *Flesh*) were brought before him; (says *Hegesippus*) but when he had examin'd them, and understood the meanness of their Condition, and that the Kingdom of *Christ* was not of this World, but Future and Spiritual, he gave no farther Disturbance

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sturbance to them, or the Church; and afterwards they held Episcopal Authority in it, down to the time of *Trajan*.

Nerva succeeded *Domitian*, and *St. John*, among others, that had been banish'd by *Domitian*, was recall'd, resided at *Ephesus*, and govern'd the Churches of *Asia*.

In the first Year of *Trajan*, who follow'd *Nerva*, *Avilius*, having been Bishop of *Alexandria* thirteen Years, died, and *Cerdo* succeeded him; and upon the Death of *Evodius*, *Ignatius* was made Bishop of *Alexandria*.

And here we must not omit a remarkable Tradition which is left us by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*. *St. John*, when upon occasion of Ordaining Bishops, and settling Churches, he visited the Provinces adjoyning, came into a certain City not far from *Ephesus*, and among the Converts there, observ'd a young Man, with a very comely Aspect, but of a florid and sanguine Temper. Him particularly the Apostle, before his departing, recommended to the vigilance of the Bishop whom he had ordain'd in that place. Whereupon the Bishop took special Charge of him till after he had baptiz'd him, and then he thought there was not so much occasion to look as narrowly to him as he had hitherto done. The young Man finding the Rein slacken'd, and falling into ill Company, gave himself up to a Libertine Life, grew desperate, committed all manner of Rapines and Violences, and was elected Captain of a Gang of *Banditti*. Some time after, the
Apostle

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Apostle visited the same City again, and demanding at the Bishop's Hands the Pledge which he had so strictly oblig'd him to secure; the Bishop with Sighs and Tears inform'd him of the wicked Courses the Youth had taken to. St. *John* having blam'd the Pastor's Negligence, hasts to the place where the Thieves were lodg'd, and being seiz'd by them, desires they would carry him to their Captain, who, upon sight of the Apostle, presently speeded away; but being closely pursu'd by him, with the most pathetical Invitations to return and amend, and with a thousand Assurances of Reconciliation to God, stop'd his Horse, came trembling and weeping, fell down and embrac'd the Apostle's Knees, was most heartily receiv'd by him, went through a Course of Pennance, and was restor'd to the Communion of the Church, and stands recorded a most affecting and memorable Example of the Efficacy of a sincere Repentance.

The Gospel of St. *John* has been at all times, and in all places, receiv'd for Canonical. It was writ, as it is plac'd, after the other three, the Authority of which this Apostle confirm'd, and in his own supply'd that part of the History which was wanting before the *Baptist's* Imprisonment, beginning his Relation with an Account of the Eternal Generation of the Son of God. The other three Gospels have also been ever universally acknowledg'd Canonical, together with the *Acts of the Apostles*, which was written by St. *Luke*, an *Antiochian* by Birth,

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Birth, and a Physician by Profession. He was conversant with the Apostles, and for many Years together attended St. *Paul*, who is understood to mean St. *Luke's*, where he says, *According to my Gospel.*

In Imitation of *Simon* the Sorcerer, *Menander* his Country-man and Disciple, a Magician too, pretended himself to be the Saviour of the World, and that no body could hold those Angels in Subjection, which (he said) created the World, but by learning his Magick, and receiving his Baptism; in consequence whereof he promis'd his Followers a delightful Immortality upon Earth. There was also the Sect of the *Ebionæans*, who held that *Christ* was an ordinary Man, begotten by *Joseph* on *Mary*; though some of them deny'd only his Eternal Generation, and asserted that he was the Just One, barely in respect of his extraordinary Virtue; they affirm'd that the Ceremonial Law still remains in force; and that St. *Paul* was therefore an Apostate, whose Epistles they rejected, and admitted no other Gospel but the spurious one, according to the Hebrews, and kept the Jewish Sabbath, not excluding the Observation of the Lord's Day. *Cerintus*, at the same time, asserted, That Angels had reveal'd to him that after the Resurrection, *Christ* should Reign a thousand Years upon Earth, *Jerusalem* flourish again, and that those who were worthy should inhabit there, and have all their Carnal Appetites indulg'd and gratify'd to the highest degree. This is the

Account

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Account which *Caius* and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* gives of *Cerinthus* and his Heresy. *Irenaeus* relates, as by Tradition from *Polycarp*, That St. *John* being accidentally in a Bath where *Cerinthus* was present, immediately left it, and desir'd his Followers to do the like, for fear the Building should fall upon their Heads. The *Nicolaitans* (mention'd in the Revelations) were Contemporaries with *Cerinthus*. They boasted themselves to be Followers of *Nicolas*, the Deacon, who (as these Hereticks would have it) when the Apostles reprov'd him for being Jealous of his Wife, brought her forth, and offer'd her to any body that would accept of her, and taught, *That every Man ought to abuse his own Flesh*, which his pretended Followers foully misinterpreted and practis'd: Whereas *Nicolas*, 'tis certain, was constant to one Wife, his Daughters perpetual Virgins, and his Son never marry'd. 'Tis true, he declar'd himself ready to be separated from his Wife, but it was in token of the Conquest he had obtain'd over his Appetites; and by *abusing the Flesh*, he meant nothing else but Mortification and Continence; as did likewise St. *Matthias*, when he us'd the same Expression.

Of the Apostles, three were marry'd, St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and St. *Philip*. St. *Philip* had Children, as had also St. *Peter*, who (as *Clement* relates) beholding his Wife carry'd to Martyrdom, exulted, and encourag'd her, and earnestly call'd to her, *O Woman, be mindful of the Lord*. St. *Philip* and his three Daughters,

one of which was marry'd after the time, when in the *Acts* they are all said to be Virgins, died at *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, and were there buried (as we learn from *Polycrates*, who was Bishop of *Ephesus*, in his Epistle to *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, and also from *Cains* before-cited) and *St. John*, who wore a Sacerdotal *Tiara* or *Mitre*, (*ἰερεὺς τὸ πῆταλον φορεῖν* as *Polycrates* expresses it) died and was bury'd at *Ephesus*, being not the same Person with *John* the Elder, who was also bury'd there.

Under *Trajan* came on the Third Persecution, in which suffer'd *Symeon*, the Second Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Son of *Cleopas*, and who in all probability had seen Christ in the Flesh. He was inform'd against as a *Christian*, and one of the Family of *David*, by certain Hereticks, who were found themselves to be of the same Descent. And though he was an Hundred and twenty Years old, yet he endur'd the Torture so courageously and unconcernedly, that the Officers and Spectators at the Execution were strangely astonish'd; and when he had suffer'd those Cruelties he was crucify'd. My Author is *Hegesippus*, who further adds, That till now, the Church had preserv'd herself pure and unspotted, and that hitherto Heresy had been modest, and manag'd in secret; but that so soon as the College of the Apostles, and those who had known Christ upon Earth, became Extinct, Impiety, and Heterodoxy, appear'd Bare-fac'd, and made a very bold and considerable Progress. This Persecution

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Persecution was abated so soon as *Pliny*, the Younger, had represented to the Emperor, what Multitudes it destroy'd of Innocent Persons that abhorr'd the Crimes alledg'd against them of Adultery, Homicide, and the like, and were guilty of no other Misdemeanor but Singing Anthems every Morning to *Christ*, their God. Having receiv'd this Account of the Matter, the Emperor order'd that Informers should no longer be employ'd against them; but that nevertheless as often as any voluntary Informations were exhibited, they should be prosecuted.

Symeon was succeeded in the See of *Jerusalem* by *Iustus*, of Jewish Extraction; and *Clement*, (who died in the Third Year of *Trajan*, after he had been Bishop of *Rome* Nine Year) by *Evaristus*.

There were now also eminent in the Church; *Polycarp*, an immediate Disciple of the Apostles, and by them made Bishop of *Smyrna*; *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*; the celebrated *Ignatius*, Successor to *St. Peter* in the See of *Antioch*, who for the Profession of the Faith, was carry'd out of *Syria* to *Rome*, and expos'd to the Wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, encouraging and strengthening the Churches as he pass'd, and cautioning them strictly against the Poyson of Heresy, or departing from the Doctrine of the Apostles. He has admirably express'd his vehement Desire of Martyrdom in that Epistle which he wrote to the *Romans*. He sent beside an Epistle to the Church at *Ephesus*,
E 2 where

52 *The Ecclesiastical History* B.III.

where he names *Onesimus* as their Bishop; another to the *Magnesian*s, where he names *Damus* as Bishop of that Church; and *Polybius* as Bishop of the *Trallian*s, in his Epistle to them. These were all written from *Smyrna*. From *Troas* afterwards he wrote to the *Philadelphian*s, to the Church of *Smyrna*; and to *Polycarp*, commending his Flock at *Antioch* to his Care. Of these Epistles, and their Author, *Polycarp* speaks very honourably in his own Epistle to the *Philippian*s, exhorting them to imitate the great Example of the latter, and admonishing them of the Edification and Benefit they might reap from the former. Add to the afore-said Worthies, *Quadratus*, endu'd with the Gift of Prophecy. But I have not an adequate Opportunity to particularize that Cloud of Witnesses who surviv'd or succeeded the Apostles, and were left to Plant, Confirm, and Govern Churches; in order whereunto they first made sale of their Fortunes and Possessions, distributing the Money among the Indigent, and travell'd from place to place, dispersing the Evangelical Doctrines and Writings, and confirming the Truth of their Assertions by the Miracles which they wrought. I confine myself therefore to those of the number, who live still among us in their excellent Writings.

Among which Monuments has come down to us, the Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, which, by the frequent Quotations it fetches from the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, attests the

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the Antiquity and Divine Authority of that Epistle; and by the Affinity of the Stile, 'tis more probable that that Epistle, written by St. Paul in *Hebrew*, was translated by St. Clement than by St. Luke. The other Epistle ascrib'd to Clement, is not of equal Weight and Authority with the first, the Ancients having never regarded it. Neither do they take the least notice of *Peter* and *Apion's Disputations*, and those other bulky Pieces ascrib'd to this Author, and which contain in them Heretical Notions.

Papias, (according to *Irenæus*) a Disciple of St. John, and Companion of *Polycarp's*, though himself does no where say, That he convers'd with any of the Apostles, but only with those that had been intimate with them, wrote Five Books, which he entituled *Explications of the Oracles of Christ*; where he has inserted a great Variety of remarkable Particulars communicated to him by those who had known the Apostles; and lets us understand that he made it his Business, as it fell in his way, to enquire after the Sayings of *Andrew*, or *Philip*, or *Peter*, or *Thomas*, or any other of the Apostles. He tells us (what *Philip's* Daughters had imparted to him) of a dead Body rais'd to Life again; and how that *Justus*, surnam'd *Barsabas*, having drunk a Draught of Poyson, received no manner of Hurt or Indisposition by it, and that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, leaving it to the Reader to interpret for himself. His Writings have some Pas-

54 *The Ecclesiastical History, &c. B. III.*

sages in them Legendary and Groundless, particularly his Opinion, that after the Resurrection, Christ should Reign visibly a Thousand Years upon Earth, which he was led into, being a plain and illiterate Man, by misunderstanding some Allegorical and Mystick Expressions of the Apostles; and afterwards the earliness of his Authority, drew *Irenæus*, and others, into the same Error.

THE

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK IV.

CERDO dying about the twelfth Year of *Trajan*, *Primus* succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, and *Alexander* succeeded *Evarestus* when he had been Bishop of *Rome* eight Years.

In the Eighteenth Year of this Emperor, the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, and *Cyrenaica*, rais'd a Tumult, which ripen'd to a War, against the *Gentile* Inhabitants, who being defeated at first, retir'd to *Alexandria*, and there slaughter'd all the *Jews* they could find. The *Jews* of *Cyrene*, when they had thus lost their Associates, were contented to Rob and Plunder the *Egyptians*, till the Emperor sent *Marcus Turbo*

56 *The Ecclesiastical History* B.IV.

to quell them, which he did after some time by cutting off prodigious Numbers of them. A like Blow they receiv'd from *Lucius Quietus*, who was order'd to drive them out of *Mesopotamia*; and his Victory got him the Prefecture of *Judea*.

In the mean time *Christianity* gain'd ground apace, but after *Trajan*, who was Emperor almost twenty Years, in the beginning of *Adrian's* Reign, great Severities were us'd through the Malice and Artifices of some ill-dispos'd People; so that *Quadratus* and *Aristides* thought it reasonable to draw up their Apologies for the *Christians*, and present them to the Emperor. They are both extant, and express the cordial Sincerity and Zeal of a true Christian Spirit. That of *Quadratus* speaks of Persons then still living, of whom some had been miraculously cur'd, and others rais'd to Life by our Saviour himself.

In the third Year of *Adrian*, after *Alexander*, who had been Bishop ten Years, *Xystus* succeeded in the See of *Rome*, and *Justus* in that of *Alexandria* after *Primus*, who was Bishop about twelve Years.

After *Justus*, in the See of *Jerusalem*, succeeded *Zachæus*, then *Tobias*, *Benjamin*, *John*, *Matthias*, *Philip*, *Seneca*, *Levi*, *Ephres*, *Joseph*, *Judas*, all approv'd good Men, and of the Circumcision; that Church having consisted of *Hebrew* Converts, down from the time of the Apostles to the taking of *Jerusalem* under *Adrian*.

Xystus

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Xystus was Bishop of *Rome* ten Years, and *Justus* of *Alexandria* twelve. The first was succeeded by *Telephorus*, and the latter by *Enmenes*.

The seditious *Jews* growing daily more and more Insolent, *Rufus*, the Prefect of *Judæa*, destroy'd an innumerable Multitude of them, Men, Women, and Children, and made seizure of their Territory. *Barchochebas*, a Savage Wretch, was their Captain, and persuaded them, that (as his Name imported) he was a *Star* sent from Heaven to be their Deliverer. But the *Romans* beleagu'r'd the Rebels so long, and so close, that they were almost famish'd, took *Bethera*, the City, where they were insconc'd, not far from *Jerusalem*, and *Barchochebas* receiv'd his Deserts, from which time forward the *Jews* were expell'd the Territory, and forbid to come within so many Miles of *Jerusalem*, a *Roman* Colony was sent to supply their places, and the Name of *Jerusalem* chang'd to that of *Ælia*. By this means there came to be a Church of *Gentile* Converts there; the first Bishop of which was *Mark*.

And now came abroad the Twin-Hereticks, *Saturninus* and *Basilides*; the first an *Antiochian*, the second of *Alexandria*, educated in the School of *Menander*, as *Menander* crept out of the Nursery of *Simon* the Sorcerer. *Saturninus* poyson'd *Syria*, and his Doctrines hardly differ'd from those of *Menander*. *Basilides's* Cure lay in *Egypt*, and his new Divinity was a Rhapsody of monstrous Notions and magical Schemes (as

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(as the great *Agrippa Castor*, whose Confutation of *Basilides* is extant, has inform'd us) This Heretick wrote Twenty four Books (says the same Author) against the Gospel of *Christ*, he made it no Sin to do Sacrifice and Renounce Christianity in times of Persecution; he oblig'd his Followers to a Silence of five Years in Imitation of *Pythagoras*, and hatch'd of his own Brain a couple of Imaginary Prophets, with hard Names to amuse his Fanaticks, *Barcabas* and *Barcoph*. Of the same Complexion was *Carpocrates*, the Founder of the Sect of the *Gnosticks*, who publickly us'd and practis'd the magical Incantations of *Simon* the Sorcerer, and held familiarity with Evil Spirits, enjoyning all that would be initiated in his Mysteries to live as wickedly as they could, to gain the Favour of those Angels that (as they said) created and govern'd the World, and would otherwise be troublesome. Thus the Devil try'd all his Arts, and play'd all his Engines against the *Christian Religion*. Thus were some Believers caught in his Snares, while Infidels made an occasion of it to Blaspheme, and load the Church with a Charge of the blackest Crimes, such as Incest and *Thyestean Feasts*, because of the open and horrid Abominations which were practis'd by these Apostates. But notwithstanding the utmost Efforts of him and his Agents, the *Christian Religion* spread it self over all the Quarters of the World, and made its way (under the Divine Patronage) by the Strength of its own Truth and Sanctity,
not

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not only through all the Province of *Greece*, but among those of the *Barbarians* too, even in spite of the Treachery of Revolters, (who subdivided themselves quite away into little Sects and Parties) and of the Malice of Persecutors and Infidels (whose Calumnies were soon refuted and confounded by plain Matter of Fact) so that the Church Militant has ever since reign'd the *Church Triumphant* (as it were) upon *Earth*.

To this Felicity the several eminent Ecclesiastical Writers that then flourish'd, were not a little Instrumental, in which number was *Hegesippus*, who wrote *The History of the Preaching of the Apostles* in Five Books, in a plain and easy Stile; and declares of himself, that as he had made it his Business to visit the Bishops of the Church, so he had found them all unanimous in their Doctrines; and that the same Law, the same Gospel and Faith, which God had reveal'd both before and by *Christ*, had been constantly preserv'd along with the Succession of the Bishops in all the Churches. He tells us, That the first Heretick was one *Thebuthis*, being disappointed in his Expectations of the Episcopal Honour; next he mentions the *Simonians*, *Cleobians*, *Dositheans*, *Gorthens*, *Masbotheans*; and, as the Spawn of these, the *Menandrians*, *Marcionites*, *Carpocratians*, *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, *Saturnilians*, and others; and again, as deriv'd from these; the *False or Pseudo-Christ*s, *Pseudo-Prophets*, *Pseudo-Apostles*. He speaks also of the *Jewish Sects*, the *Essens*,
Galileans,

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Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadduces, and Pharisees. Justin, a Native of *Flavia Neapolis* in *Palestine*, was another Christian Witer of great Repute, who (as himself informs us) had examin'd and try'd all sorts of Philosophy, but never could receive the Satisfaction he sought, till his Conversion to Christianity; the first occasion whereof, he tells us, was his disbelief of that improbable Character which the Heathens gave of the Christians, for that he could not understand, how 'twas possible that the Christians should be such Canibals and Libertines, as the Heathens represented them, and yet so chearfully and bravely expose themselves to the Fury of their Enemies, and court the most formidable Deaths for the sake of their Religion. From the same Author we learn, That *Serenius Granianus* having certify'd *Adrian* in how tumultuary and inhumane a manner the Christians were proceeded against; the Emperor dispatch'd a Letter to *Minucius Fundanus*, Proconsul in *Asia*, commanding that none of them should be further prosecuted, except such as were found to be Disturbers of the State, and that whosoever brought vexatious and invidious Informations against them, should be punish'd themselves.

Adrian reign'd One and twenty Years, and was succeeded by *Antoninus Pius*, in whose first Year *Telesphorus*, having been above ten Years Bishop, suffer'd Martyrdom, and *Hyginus* succeeded in the See of *Rome*. Now it was, that
Valentinus,

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Valentinus, *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, and *Marcus*, introduced their Heresies. Of *Valentinus* and his Blasphemies, *Irenaeus* has left us an Account at large. *Cerdon*, he tells us, was of the Family of *Simon* the Sorcerer, and affirm'd, that God or *Jehovah*, in the *Old Testament*, is not the same with the Father of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, because that God is known, but the other unknown, and that is a God of *Justice*, but this is a God of *Mercy*. *Marcion* was a Native of *Pontus*, and maintain'd that there was another God every way superior to him who made the World. This Heresy had a great many Followers. *Marcus's* Heresy consisted of Magical Rites and Operations. *Irenaeus* also mentions their diabolical Mysteries and initiating Ceremonies. 'Tis the way with some of them (says he) to lay out a Marriage-Bed for their new Profelytes, and mutter their own mystical Forms over it, and this they call a spiritual Marriage. Others of them Baptize in the Name of the unknown Father of all, unto Truth the Mother of all, unto him that descended into *Jesus*. Others deliver themselves in Hebrew Forms, as the more solemn and puzzling.

Hyginus was Bishop of *Rome* four Years, and succeeded by *Pius*; and after *Pius*, who died in the fifteenth Year of his Episcopate, came *Anicetus*. At *Alexandria* *Marcus* succeeded *Eumenes*, who had held that See thirteen Years, and ten Years after *Celadion* succeeded *Marcus*.

Under

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Under *Antoninus Pius*, the Infidels begun again to vex the *Christians* in the several Provinces of the Empire; upon which *Justin Martyr* presenting an *Apology*, and others of the *Christians* in *Asia* appealing to the Emperor, he sent an Order in their Favour, to the same effect with that of *Adrian*.

In the time of *Anicetus's* Episcopāt, *Polycarp* came to *Rome*, and conferr'd with him upon a Question that had been started in the Church, concerning the Observation of *Easter*. This *Polycarp* was he, whom the Apostles had ordain'd Bishop of *Smyrna*, the genuine Orthodoxy of whose Preaching all the Churches in *Asia*, and all his Successors at *Smyrna* have attested. While he was at *Rome*, he converted a great number of Hereticks. It happen'd once that *Marcion* meeting him, desir'd him only to take notice who he was: Yes, reply'd *Polycarp*, *I know thee to be the first-born of Satan*. So strictly was that Rule of the Apostle observ'd in those Days, to avoid, and not so much as to eat with any Person that perverted the Word of God.

After *Antoninus Pius*, who reign'd twenty two Years, his Sons *Marcus Aurelius Verus Antoninus* and *Lucius Verus* succeeded, and with them a bloody Persecution in *Asia*. The Constancy of the *Christians* that suffer'd in it, was as astonishing as the Tortures were terrible. They were scourg'd till their Veins and Arteries, and their very Intrails lay bare: Others were thrown upon rugged sharp Conchs and
Iron

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Iron Spikes, and when they had endur'd the utmost Misery the Persecutors could invent, they were flung to Wild Beasts. Among others, *Germanicus*, a Youth, gave a most extraordinary Proof of *Christian* Courage. The Pro-Consul was earnest with him, to have some regard to the Bloom and Vigour of his Age; but instead of listening, the brave young Man urg'd and provok'd the Wild Beast that was to devour him, and dragg'd him forward to his Prey. *Quintus*, a Native of *Phrygia*, who came from thence on purpose to offer himself to the Fury of the Adversaries, (with some others) being scar'd at the sight of the Tortures and Death that were prepar'd for him, prostrated himself for Mercy before the Officers, but in vain; and his Example became a Warning to others, not rashly to throw themselves upon Tryals of this nature. *Germanicus* being destroy'd, the Multitude loudly demand-ed *Polycarp*. He had some time before been perswaded with much difficulty, to retire to a neighbouring Village, where with a few other Christians he employ'd his Days and Nights, (as he had always done) in Prayers for the Peace and Preservation of the Churches. Three Days before he was apprehended, he dreamt he saw his Pillow consum'd in Flames; where-upon waking, he told his Dream to the Christians that were with him, and that himself was shortly to be carry'd to the Stake for the Testimony of *Jesus*. Fresh Dangers approaching, and being much importun'd, he retir'd again to

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to another Village. The Inquisitors coming thither, found two Christian Children, one of which they beat to Death because he would make no Discovery, but the other conducted them to *Polycarp*. He might have yet withdrawn, but staying till they came in, he chearfully receiv'd them, saying, *The Will of God be done*. Then he order'd a handsome Entertainment for them, and only desir'd an Hour's time for his Devotions, in which he recommended to God the Holy Catholick Church, and particularly those Members of it with whom himself had been concern'd or acquainted. The Hour being expir'd, although his venerable Age, Gravity, Courage, and Resolution, had wrought Amazement and Compassion in the Breasts of the Messengers, he was convey'd upon an Ass towards the City, till being met upon the Road by *Herod the Irenarch*, and his Father *Nicetes*, he was taken up into their Chariot, and press'd by them over and over to do Sacrifice, and acknowledge *Cesar's* Divinity, but the good Man persisting in the Negative, they loaded him with Contumelies, and thrust him out of the Chariot with such Violence, that his Leg was very much hurt in the fall. However, he took not notice of it, and mov'd on as fast as he was able with all external Demonstrations of Composure and Satisfaction. As he came upon the place of Execution, a Voice from Heaven encourag'd him, *O Polycarp, be strong and undaunted*. And this the Christians that were near him heard, though so loud was the

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the Noise and Tumult, that it was lost to the Multitude. The Pro-Consul first demanded of him whether he was *Polycarp*. He answer'd; He was. Then the Pro-Consul wish'd him to take pity on his own hoary Head; Deny your Christ, said he, swear by the Genius of the Emperor; Repent and say, *αἵ τοι ἀθεοὶ* (*Let the Atheists die*). At this *Polycarp* look'd round, with a reverend Aspect, upon the Multitude, holding out his Hand towards them, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, said with a deep Sigh, *Let the Atheists suffer*. Swear, said the Consul, Reproach your Christ, and I will release you. *Fourscore and six Years* (said *Polycarp*) *have I been his faithful Minister. Never did he use me unkindly. How then can I Blaspheme my King and my Saviour?* Still the Pro-Consul press'd him to swear. If (said the Holy Man again) you will pretend your self ignorant of my Character, and under that Pretext urge me to Swear by what you call the Genius of the Emperor, know I am a Christian, and if you desire to learn what Christianity is, allow me the space of one Day, and I'll inform you. Come, (said the Pro-Consul) hold forth to the Multitude. I am ready (said *Polycarp*) to bring you to a right Sense of the Christian Faith; for we are commanded to pay all Duty and Submission, so far as may consist with our Eternal Salvation, to Magistrates and Powers as constituted by God himself. But (continu'd *Polycarp*) as for this Multitude, they are unworthy of such Instructions. Unless (said the Pro-Consul) you Abjure, you must be thrown to the Wild Beasts.

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Let them come on; (said Polycarp) we Christians are not us'd to change from Better to Worse, but from Bad to Better. You shall be burnt alive (said the Pro-Consul). Your Fire (said Polycarp) will be spent in an Hour, but that which is reserv'd for Sinners is Eternal. Dispose of me as you please. The Pro-Consul was confounded at this Alacrity and Sprightliness, but Proclamation being made, That Polycarp had profess'd himself a Christian; the Gentiles and Jews of Smyrna, demanded a Lyon should be set upon him, which the Governor denying upon a Point of Prescription, he was condemn'd to the Flames, and so he stripp'd himself to his very Shooes, which were usually drawn off by others that were ambitious to touch the Flesh of so venerable a Saint. Then they mov'd that he might be nail'd up to the Stake; but he told them, He that would support him under the Pain, would enable him to keep his Body Quiet and Steady: So being only chain'd, he prayed in these Words, Blessed be thou, O Father, of thy Blessed and Only Begotten Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have receiv'd the Knowledge of Thee; O God of Angels, and Powers, and every Creature, and of all the Just that live in thy Sight; Blessed be thou that hast made me worthy to see this Day and Hour; that hast made me a Partaker among thy Holy Martyrs in the Cup of thy Christ, that my Soul and Body may be reunited unto Life Eternal, being sanctify'd by thy Holy Spirit. O grant, I beseech thee, that this Day I may be presented before thee among thy Saints, a rich and acceptable
Sacrifice

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Sacrifice according to thy heavenly Will, and as thou, O God of Truth, hast reveal'd unto me. Wherefore, O Lord, I adore thee for all thy Mercies, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through thy Only Begotten Son, the Eternal High-Priest, Christ Jesus, through whom in the Unity of the Holy Spirit to Thee, be Glory now and for evermore. And when he had cry'd aloud *Amen*, the Fire was kindled, and the Flames waving in Sheets round his Body, (which did not seem to scorch, but appear'd like Gold in a Furnace, and exhal'd an Aromatick Odour) an Executioner was commanded to thrust him through with his Sword, which was no sooner done, but such a Stream of Blood issued from him that it extinguish'd the Fire. Thus died this truly Apostolical and Prophetick Bishop. Nor could the *Christians* with all their endeavours procure his Body, which was afterwards burnt; it being vainly and ignorantly suggested that for the future, perhaps, they might transfer their Adorations from *Christ* to *Polycarp*. Yet they carry'd off his Bones, and repositied them honourably, as a most valuable Treasure, and annually celebrated his Martyrdom. Beside him suffer'd other illustrious Martyrs in the same Persecution, particularly *Metrodorus* and *Pionius* were burnt; the latter having first with an extraordinary Courage and Vigour profess'd and prov'd the Holy Truth in the Face of the Judicature, admonish'd those that had laps'd to return, encourag'd and comforted the Faithful, and endur'd the severest Methods of Torture.

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In *Pergamus*, among other noble Instances of Christian Bravery, suffer'd *Carpus*, *Papulus*, and a Woman, whose Name was *Agathonica*. About the same time, *Justin* seal'd that Divine Philosophy with his Blood, which he had so vigorously defended with his Pen and his Tongue, being inform'd against by *Crescens*, a *Cynick*, a Man of a leud Life, Illiterate and Proud, whom *Justin* had publickly confuted. And this came to pass according to what *Justin* foresaw, as he declares in his first Apology, where he manifests the Ignorance, Disingenuity, and Malice, of those pretended Philosophers that oppos'd Christianity; and has withal inserted this remarkable Relation. A certain marry'd Woman, who before had led an ill Life, being converted to the Christian Religion, did what she could to Profelyte her Husband, a very Leud and Immoral Man. When all her Endeavours to reform him prov'd ineffectual, fearing that otherwise she could not deliver her own Soul, she serv'd him with a Writ of Divorce, and left him; but instead of being affected with any generous Sense of her Intentions herein, the Husband brought an Information against her for being a *Christian*. Upon this she appeal'd to the Emperor for a Demur of the Persecution, till she had settled her Affairs and Estate, which was granted. Then her Husband got a Centurion to Apprehend and Interrogate *Ptolomy*, the Christian, that had converted her. *Ptolomy* persisted in the Profession of his Faith, and suffer'd accordingly;
as

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as did also *Lucius* and another Christian, for expostulating with the Judge upon the Injustice of the Sentence against *Ptolomy*, and professing their *Christianity*. This *Justin*, besides his two Apologies, wrote a Treatise against the Gentiles; another, *Concerning the Monarchy of God*; another entitul'd *Psaltes*; another, *Of the Soul*; another against the *Jews*, in a Dialogue between him and *Trypho*, wherein he shews the great Inveteracy of the *Jews* against the *Christians*, and what Prophecies they had expung'd out of the Copies of the *Old Testament*; and moreover informs us, That there were then Gifts of Prophecy in the Church; and that *St. John*, the Apostle, wrote the *Revelations*. *Irenæus* quotes him with all Respect and Deference, whence we may compute how highly he was esteem'd by the Ancients.

In the Eighth Year of *Marcus Aurelius*, died *Anicetus*, Bishop of *Rome*, after he had sat Eleven Years, and was succeeded by *Soter*. *Celadion* govern'd the Church of *Alexandria* Fourteen Years, and was succeeded by *Agrippinus*. In the See of *Alexandria* sat successively, *Heron*, *Cornelius*, *Heros*, *Theophilus*.

Among the Ecclesiastical Writers that now flourish'd, was *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*, who wrote several Epistles to several Churches; one to the *Lacedemonians*, exhorting them to Orthodoxy and Unity; another to the *Athenians*, upon occasion of some irregular Practices and Principles, that obtain'd among them from the time of the Martyrdom of *Publius*, their Bishop,

70 *The Ecclesiastical History* B.IV.

till *Quadratus* (afterwards their Bishop) re-form'd and settled them; another to the Church of *Nicomedia*, against the Heresy of *Marcion*; another to the *Cretan* Churches, to Caution them against Hereticks; in which he gives a great Character of *Philip*, their Bishop; another to the Church of the *Amastrians*, and the rest of the Churches in *Pontus*, where he mentions *Palma*, their Bishop; the Subject of it is concerning Marriage and Chastity, and the reconciling of Lapsers and Hereticks; another to the *Gnossians*, wherein he dissuades *Pinytus*, the Bishop, from rigour in imposing Celibacy; in his elegant and pious Answer, to which *Pinytus* sets forth the great Deserts of *Dionysius*; another to the Church of *Rome*, inscrib'd to *Soter*, their Bishop, applauding them for the great Beneficence and Charity, which that Church had constantly shewn to the distress'd Members of *Christ*; beside one more that goes under his Name, directed to *Christophora*, a Sister in the Faith.

Theophilus, Bishop of *Antioch*, was Author of three Books to *Autolychus*, concerning the Principles of the Christian Religion; one against *Hermogenes*, where he quotes places out of *St. John's Revelation*; another against *Marcion*, *Theophilus* being one of the many Judicious, Learned, and Good Men, who made use at that time of all the Methods possible to exterminate Heresies, and preserve the Orthodox from Infection. Together with these, we have his *Catechetical Discourses*. He was succeeded in the See of *Antioch* by *Maximin*.

Philip

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Philip, Bishop of *Gortyna*, was another of those who writ against the *Marcionites*; but no body has dissected them so well as *Modestus*.

Melito, Bishop of *Sardis*, compos'd two Books concerning *Easter*; one, *Of the Rule of Life and the Prophets*; one, *Concerning the Church*; one, *Concerning the Nature*, and another *Concerning the Formation of Man*; one, *Of the Obedience of Sense to Faith*; one, *Concerning the Spirit, Soul, and Body*; one about *Baptism*; one about *Truth*; one, *Concerning Faith*, and of the *Generation of Christ*; one, *Of Prophecy*; one about *Hospitality*; one entituled, *The Key*; one, *Concerning the Incarnation of God*; there are also his Discourses concerning the *Devil*, and concerning the *Revelation of St. John*, and his *Apology to the Emperor Antoninus*, in which he assures him, that though his Majesty should Treat the *Christians* never so unjustly and inhumanely, they would yet be most ready to submit to his Severities with all Patience and Resignation.

Apollinaris, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, wrote an *Apology to the Emperor aforesaid*; five Books against the *Gentiles*; two, *Concerning Truth*; two against the *Jews*; and others against the *Cataphrygians* or *Montanists*. The rest of his Works are lost.

Musanus writ a most elegant Discourse against the *Encratites*, or Followers of *Tatian*, who after the Death of *Justin*, his Master, turn'd Heretick. This Sect had their *Aones*, as well as the *Valentinians*. With *Saturninus* and *Marcion*, they condemn'd Marriage and Eating of

72 *The Ecclesiastical History, &c.* B. IV.

Flesh, and affirm'd, that *Adam* was damn'd. One *Severus* afterwards made Additions to the Heresy, whence they took the Name of *Severiani*. They receive the Books of the *Old Testament* and the *Four Gospels*, but reject the *Acts* and *St. Paul's Epistles*, exclaiming vehemently against that Apostle. *Tatian*, their Founder, has complicated the *Four Gospels* into one; which Work is entituled *Diateffaron*, and has presumed to correct the Stile and Expression of *St. Paul's Epistles*. He is a Voluminous Writer, but his Master-piece is his Treatise *against the Gentiles*.

Bardefanes, a *Syrian*, and at first a Disciple of *Valentinus*, wrote several Pieces, which were Translated into *Greek*; among the rest, Dialogues against *Marcion*, and other Hereticks; and a Dialogue (Dedicated to *Antoninus*) concerning Faith.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK V.

SO^TE^R held the See of *Rome* Eight Years, and upon his Death, *Eleutherus* was advanc'd to that Chair, in the Seventeenth Year of *Antoninus Verus*, when the Violence of the Persecution encreasing, all the Provinces of the Empire were in a manner overflow'd with the Blood of the Holy Martyrs. And to what an excess of Vehemence it rag'd elsewhere, may be conceiv'd from the Measures of Persecution which were taken at *Lyons* and *Vienna*, where the *Christians* were forbidden to shew their Heads; expos'd to all the Injuries and Indignities which Men could suffer from a licens'd Rabble, and upon Presentment reserv'd in Custody

74 *The Ecclesiastical History* B.V.

study by the Magistrates for the Fury of the *Prefect*, at that time absent. *Vettius Epagathus* was the first Fruits of those that died, having offer'd himself an Advocate for his Brethren, and made a bold Confession of his Faith. He was a Youth of singular Piety, and extraordinary Influences of Divine Grace had elevated his Soul. With him several others signaliz'd themselves in a glorious Resistance unto Blood. However, there were Ten who fell away, which might have prov'd a great Discouragement, had not the Sufferings of all the brightest Luminaries of both Churches made amends for their Defection. The Gentil Servants of *Christians* were apprehended, and compell'd to alledge against their Masters the most scandalous and abominable Falsties, to alienate the Minds of those who retain'd any degree of Compassion for them. *Sanctus*, a Deacon, was Proof against all the most exquisite Tortures the Persecutors could put him to; and return'd them no other Answer to any of their Questions, but that he was a Christian. They clapp'd burning Wedges of Brass upon the tenderest Parts of his Body, at which he never so much as shrunk, though he was at last so fear'd, and parch'd, and writh'd, that he had nothing left about him of a Humane Shape. And, yet, when within a little time after the Tortures were to be repeated before his Flesh could heal, his Body had miraculously recover'd its pristine Form, Firmness, and Functions. *Maturnus*, *Attalus*, and *Blandina*, a poor feeble Woman,

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man, were afterwards expos'd along with *Sanctus*, to the Wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, where *Maturus* (who had endur'd the Torture already) and *Sanctus* having been first scourg'd again, and lamentably Torn by the Teeth of the Devourers, were laid to broil upon a Grid-iron, and then had their Throats cut: *Sanctus* all the while reiterating his Professions of Christianity. *Attalus*, who had always been a noted Hero of the Faith, was first led about the Amphitheatre, with this Inscription before him, *This is Attalus the Christian*; but when they found him to be a *Roman*, he was remanded to Prison, and afterwards brought again into the Amphitheatre, where all the other Methods of Torture being first applied, he was plac'd upon the Iron-Grate, and as his Body was broiling, *It seems*, said he to the Spectators, 'tis not we Christians, but your selves that make Thyestean Feasts, and commit those other Enormities you accuse us of. And when they demanded of him what was the Name of God. God, said he, has not a proper Name, as if he were a Man. In fine, he was dispatch'd by the Sword. This *Attalus*, during his Troubles, was by an extraordinary Revelation directed to reprove *Alcibiades*, one of his Fellow-Martyrs, for abstaining from the use of every kind of Sustenance besides Bread and Water, upon which *Alcibiades* forsook his Resolution. *Blandina*, when the Executioners had tortur'd, and torn, and butcher'd her Body from Morning to Night, till they confess'd themselves tir'd, still

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still continued able with Courage and Chearfulness to affirm she was a Christian, and that the Christians were pious People. She was afterwards expos'd to the Wild Beasts, being ty'd up to the Stake, in the manner of a Person crucify'd, at the sight of which her Fellow-Sufferers were greatly animated. But none of the Beasts would fasten upon her; so she was taken down again, and kept in a Dungeon till the last Day of the *Amphitheatral* Conflicts, when, with a Youth, nam'd *Ponticus*, about Fifteen Years of Age, (after they had both been for several Days together made Spectators of the Sufferings of the Fellow-Christians) again she underwent with Joy their utmost Barbarities, and at last was wrapt in a Sack, tost by a Bull, and then her Throat cut: The Infidels declaring they knew no Instance among themselves of Fortitude in a Woman, comparable to *Blandina*. *Ponticus* was Dead before her, having been wonderfully encourag'd under the Agony of his Tortures by her comfortable Exhortations. *Biblias*, another of the same Sex, at first renounc'd her Profession; but afterwards, when Tortures were applied to make her Blaspheme, she repented, declar'd her self a Christian, and vindicated the Name from the Calumnies of the Adversary. Others were thrown into dark and narrow Dungeons, and shut in the Stocks with their Legs distended as wide as they could be stretch'd. These, and the like Cruelties, releas'd in a little time the Souls of a great many Confessors, though not
a few

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a few endur'd them much longer than otherwise they could have done, being extraordinarily supported by God, that they might strengthen their Brethren. *Pothinus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, aged above Ninety, and very infirm, was hurry'd to the Tribunal, the Magistrates and the Rabble all the while exclaiming tumultuously against him, at which he express'd no manner of concern: And being ask'd by the Prefect, *Who was the God of the Christians?* Told him, *He should know when he was worthy.* Then immediately they fell to Kicking, Bruising, and Wounding him, after which he was thrown into a Dungeon, where within two Days the blessed old Man expir'd. At the same time, the Divine Justice and Wisdom exerted it self remarkably in the Punishment of the Lapsers, for they were treated as unmercifully as others who stood their Ground, while the latter discover'd in their Looks the unspeakable Comfort and Felicity they felt in the present Succour of the Holy Spirit, and the certainty of the promis'd Reward; but the former groan'd under the additional Miseries of an accusing Conscience and a black Remorse, which cast them into a low Dejection of Soul, and spread such Confusion in their Faces, as encourag'd their Enemies in their Insults and Abuses, till through the Mercy of God, they were by the Endeavours and Assistance of the Holy Martyrs, reconcil'd and reunited to the Church; and upon a second Examining, when they might have been acquitted, if they would have persever'd

persever'd in their former Renunciation, declar'd themselves *Christians*, and accordingly were put to Death, some Children of Perdition excepted. One *Alexander*, a Native of *Phrygia*, and a Physician, a Christian devout and well fortify'd, having cited them before the Tribunal to assert their Faith with all steadfastness, and thereby incens'd their Adversaries, who resented nothing so heinously, as After-Confessions from the Mouths of Lapsers, was examin'd by the Prefect, and assuring him he was a Christian, suffer'd along with *Artalus* now mention'd. This invincible Constancy of the Martyrs, exasperated the Unbelievers to such a Degree, that not contented with all the Inhumanities which the Servants of God, while alive, had suffer'd at their Hands, they flung the Carcasses of those that had died in Prison to the Dogs, stamp'd upon them, offer'd them all manner of Indignities; and when they had watch'd them for several Days, that none of the surviving Christians might fetch them away, and Bury them; Burnt them, and threw the Ashes into the River *Rhosne*. Thus triumph'd these Holy Martyrs, whose Humility, Meekness, and Charity, exceeded, if possible, their Magnanimity and Patience, for they would by no means allow themselves worthy the Title of Martyrs; they offer'd up their Prayers for their Persecutors and Tormenters; they reliev'd the Necessities of those who had fallen away through Infirmity, and were most ready to palliate and excuse the matter, and

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to receive them again into Communion. This Account of things the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vienna*, communicated in an Epistle to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*; and likewise to *Eleutherus*, Bishop of *Rome*, in a Letter, which they sent by *Irenaeus*, then one of their Presbyters, with a special Recommendation of the Person that carry'd it.

Here let us not leave that miraculous Interposition of Heaven unmention'd, which not only *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian*, and other Christian Writers, but the Heathens themselves have recorded. In the time of the War against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, when the two Armies were now in a readiness to Engage, and that of the Emperor, *Marcus Aurelius*, was languishing, and in a manner dead with Drought, the *Melitine Legion*, consisting of *Christians*, prostrated themselves upon their Knees, and besought the great God of Heaven and Earth to send them some Relief. Immediately their Supplication was answer'd by a terrible Tempest of Thunder and Lightning, which fell upon the Enemy, put them to Flight, and laid many of them Dead; while a Shower of Rain descended upon the *Roman Army*, and afforded them a large Provision for their Refreshment, and the extinguishing of their Thirst.

After the Death of *Pothinus*, *Irenaeus*, who in his Youth had been instructed by *Polycarp*, was consecrated Bishop of *Lyons*. In his Third Book against Heresy, he has enumerated the Bishops of *Rome*, as they descended by Succession, down
to

to *Eleutherus*; who held the Chair when he wrote. And in his Second Book he tells us of a numberless variety of extraordinary Gifts and Powers that abounded, and were exercis'd in the Church in his time; that the Dead were rais'd by Fasting and Prayer, Devils cast out, and so the rescued Parties were converted to the Faith; that the Sick were recover'd by Imposition of Hands, that several of the *Christians* had Revelations imparted to them, and prophecy'd, and that all manner of Miracles were wrought *in the Name of Jesus Christ, who suffer'd under Pontius Pilate*. In his Third Book he has asserted the Authority of the Four Gospels. In his Fifth, and elsewhere, the Authority of *St. John's Revelation* and First Epistle, and of the First Epistle of *St. Peter*; as also that of the *Septuagint Translation*, in Opposition to *Theodotion's* and *Aquila's*, (two *Jewish Converts*) and tells us, That *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, desiring to have his Collection in his Library at *Alexandria*, as valuable and compleat as it could possibly be made, solicited the *Jews* to let him have a *Greek Translation* of the Books of the *Old Testament*, upon which they sent him Seventy of their most able Elders to Translate them for him; and when they had finish'd their several Versions, every one apart from all the rest, as he had order'd, they were compar'd together, and being found to agree Word for Word, the King and all the Gentiles present, ingenuously acknowledg'd, that both the Original and the Translation were

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were Sacred, and deriv'd from God himself. Beside his Work against the Hereticks, and his Epistles, *Irenaeus* writ a little Discourse against the *Gentiles*, concerning Science; another giving an Account of the Preaching of the Apostles; and a little Miscellany of Controversial Arguments.

Antoninus reign'd Nineteen Years, and *Commodus* was his Successor, in whose First Year, *Agrippinus*, having been Bishop of *Alexandria* Twelve Years, was succeeded by *Julian*.

About the same time, the Great *Pantenus* presided in the Christian School at *Alexandria*; a most ancient and flourishing Academy of Divine Erudition. *Pantenus* had been educated in the Principles of the *Stoical* Philosophy; but becoming a *Christian*, he thought it his Duty to endeavour the Conversion of others, and so, transcribing from the Practice of the Apostles, he went diffusing the Gospel Eastward as far as to *India*, where he found in the Hands of certain *Christians*, the Gospel of St. *Matthew* in the Original *Hebrew*, suppos'd to have been left by St. *Bartholomew* when he Preach'd in those Parts. Among the Pupils of *Pantenus*, was *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, as himself gives us to understand in his Book of Institutions. He trod in the same Tract of Divine Studies with his Master, whom he seems to mean in the First Book of his *Stromata*, where he speaks of a certain Person whom he had met with in *Egypt*; the best accomplish'd of any he had found in all Sacred Literature whatsoever.

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In the Church of *Jerusalem*, as the Order of their Succession stands register'd in their Archives, down to the time we are here concern'd for; after *Marc* succeeded *Cassianus*, then *Publius*, *Maximus*, *Julian* the First, *Caius* the First, *Symmachus*, *Caius* the Second, *Julian* the Second, *Capito*, *Valens*, *Dolichianus*, *Narcissus*.

Rhodon, an *Asiatick*, was an eminent Writer of these times. He had been the Scholar of *Tatian*, and employ'd his Pen against the Heresy of the *Marcionites*, who (says he) were divided among themselves, and distributed into several Sects. *Apelles*, a scrupulous Pretender to Sanctity, held no more than one Origin and Cause of all things; but, upon the Authority of *Philumena's* pretended Revelations, (a poor young Woman possess'd with an Evil Spirit) asserted, that the Prophecies of the Scriptures were the Dictates of an opposite and malignant Power. Others, as *Marcion* himself, *Potitus*, *Basilicus*, and their Party, were for the Opinion of two contrary Efficient First-Principles. *Syneros* and his Followers contend'd for Three; but none of them, when they were put upon the Proof of their Hypotheses, had any thing like a plausible Argument to offer; and *Apelles* particularly was able to give no other Reason to *Rhodon* for his Presumptions, than that he believ'd them, because he believ'd them, professing himself a true *Latitudinarian*; for the Wretch thought it hard that any Man's Faith should be examin'd, and was for leaving
all

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all People to follow their own Principles, whether Good or Bad, and in his wonderful Charity extended the ordinary Hopes and Means of Salvation to all Faiths, and to all Communion. The same *Rhodon* has left us a Commentary upon the *Hexaemeron*, or Mosaical Account of the Creation.

In *Asia* and *Phrygia*, the Heresy of *Montanus* had now made a considerable Advance. This *Montanus* (as we understand from *Apollinaris*, who, with divers other Associates, Learned and Eloquent, stem'd the Tide of his Heresy) when, as yet, he was but a Novice in the Christian Faith; becoming a Demoniack, went about and publish'd his Divinations and Predictions, repugnant, as they were, in their Sense and Tendency to the Original Rule of Faith, and the Doctrines of the Holy Catholick Church. And by all good Christians he was therefore sharply rebuk'd, convicted as a false and diabolical Prophet, and stricktly commanded to desist from his execrable Pretences; while others, losing their Wits and themselves with a Calenture of Enthusiasm, took his part, and gave him all Encouragement to spread the Pestilence; which he was the better enabled to do through the Assistance of a Couple of wicked Women, who being also under the Possession of Evil Spirits, bellow'd about their Absurdities and Blasphemies, and gave their Admirers a full assurance of the highest Privileges and Blessings; exercising withal for the better Grace of the management, a Discipline

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of Authority over them, and calumniating the Sound and Orthodox Members of *Christ*, who forsooth ! were no less than guilty of the Blood of the Prophets , because they shut their Ears upon the detestable Oracles and Effusions of the Sorceresses. But more especially, did they malign those of the *Asiatick* Churches , who had often examin'd and condemn'd their Extravagances in Counsel, and excommunicated their Authors and Abettors. *Maximilla* prophesied of Wars and Publick Distractions, immediately to break out ; but (as it happen'd) very un-luckily, for there was nothing like them, either in the Empire , or against the Church, during the space of thirteen Years after. *Zoticus*, Bishop of *Comana*, and *Julian*, Bishop of *Apamea*, desir'd to have brought her Familiar to a Tryal, but her Complices did not think fit he should stand it. At last, as 'tis reported, at the Instigation of her Dæmon, she hang'd herself, (and so did *Montanus* too) and 'tis generally affirm'd, that *Theodotus* , one of their principal Engins, was carried up a great height in the Air, and that his Evil Spirit-deceiving him, he fell and broke his Neck. When all their other Arguments fail'd, their way was to boast of their Martyrs, whereas really none of them ever suffer'd ; though if any of them had, they could have pretended no more to the Title of Martyrs than the *Marcionites* , or any other Hereticks, that is, not at all. For this Representation of *Montanus* and his Heresy , we stand oblig'd to *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, who
in

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in the beginning of the Work which he compos'd against the *Cataphryges* or *Montanists*, informs us, That he had sometime doubted with himself, whether he should write against them or not, least his Book might be interpreted as an Addition or Supplement to the written Rule of the Gospel, to which nothing was to be added, and from which nothing was to be deducted *.

The two Ringleaders of the *Montanist* Faction in *Rome*, were *Florinus* and *Blaſtus*, both degraded Presbyters, and a great many unhappy Souls were seduc'd by their Artifices.

Beside *Apollinaris*, of *Hierapolis*, there were also engag'd in Defiance to the *Montanists*, *Miltiades*, *Apollonius*, and *Serapion*, Successor to *Maximin* in the Chair of *Antioch*. *Miltiades* moreover compos'd a Treatise against the *Gentiles*, and another against the *Jews*, and an Apology for the Christian Religion, inscrib'd to the Prefects of Provinces. *Apollonius* has animadverted upon *Montanus's* Prohibition of Marriage, and Imposition of new Fasts; his making a *Jerusalem* of two little Villages of *Phrygia*, for a place of general Convention; the mercenary Trade of his Preaching, and the Hire accepted by his Prophetesses; he accuses *Themison*, a fast Friend to the Sect, of

* So entire and adequate a Body of Directions, and so sufficient for the ends of Salvation, did the earliest Christians esteem the Holy Scriptures.

Apostacy, of Hypocrisy, and of Blasphemy: And *Alexander*, another of them, (he tells us) though a Common Highway-man, was an Object of their Adoration: And as for their Prophets, they were Beaus, Gamesters, and Usurers. All which he has offer'd to demonstrate if they joyn issue. He quotes places out of *St. John's Revelation*, and makes mention of a dead Body rais'd to Life by that Apostle, and of a very ancient Tradition, *That Christ forbid his Apostles to depart, till the end of the twelve Years, from Jerusalem.* *Serapion* speaks of *Apollinaris*, and his share in the Controversy, in his Epistle to *Caricus* and *Ponticus*, to which Epistle are annext the Subscriptions of several Bishops. At the same juncture, *Irenaeus* wrote an Epistle to *Blastus* concerning *Schism*, and another to *Florinus*, to convince him that God is not the Author of Sin. In this Epistle he insists much upon their former Familiarity with *Polycarp*, and that *Polycarp* would have abhorr'd those Tenets which *Florinus* maintain'd, and express'd his Detestation, in the Form he was, it seems, ever fond of, *O good God! that I should live to see such a prophane and incorrigible Generation!* Afterwards the same *Serapion* drew up a Tract against the *Valentinian* Heresy, which *Florinus* had imbib'd, entituled *περί ὁυδρισμοῦ*: At the end of this Book we meet with a most illustrious Argument of the Integrity and Caution of those early Writers in the Church; where he adjures the Transcribers, in the Name of *Christ Jesus*, the Judge of Quick and Dead,

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Dead, to Copy precisely according to the Original, and that they shall in like manner adjure all future Transcribers from time to time.

Under *Commodus* the Church enjoy'd a Truce, and acquir'd a large increase of Profelytes, whole Families coming in of the most eminent Condition in *Rome*; where, nevertheless, the great and learned *Apollonius* receiv'd his Crown, having first in a most elegant Oration vindicated the Christian Religion before the Judge, who begg'd and entreated him to abjure. The Informer, a most profligate Fellow, had his Legs broke for bringing the Information contrary to the Tenor and Authority of the Imperial Edict aforesaid.

In the Tenth of *Commodus* died *Eleutherus*, after he had been Bishop Thirteen Years, and *Victor* succeeded in the See of *Rome*. *Demetrius* succeeded *Julian*, who sate Bishop of *Alexandria* Ten Years. Contemporary with these, were *Serapion* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesarea*, *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Bacchylus* Bishop of *Corinth*, *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, besides a great many others, whose Names we shall omit, because none of their Writings are now Extant among us.

The Question about the time of the Observation of *Easter*, was at this time very warmly canvass'd. The *Asiatick* Churches celebrated that Festivity upon the Fourteenth Day of the Moon's Age, whatever Day of the Week it happen'd to be, as the *Jews* did the Passover,

and pleaded the Authority of their Tradition; so particularly *Polycrates* in his Epistle to *Victor*, and the Church of *Rome*, instancing in the Practice of *St. John*, *St. Philip*, and his Daughters, *Polycarp*, *Thraseas* Bishop of *Emmenia*, *Sagaris* Bishop of *Laodicea* and Martyr, *Papirius*, *Melita*, and Seven Bishops that had been all of his own Family; moreover, urging the Authority of a large Council of Bishops which he had call'd and presided in, and lastly his own, with regard to the number of Years he had liv'd in the World, and the general Conversation he had cultivated with his Brethren. On the contrary, all other Churches, down from the times of the Apostles, had celebrated that Festivity upon no other Day of the Week but the *Lord's Day*, and the Practice was confirm'd by the Synods and Councils that met upon this occasion, particularly by a Council in *Palestine*, in which presided joyntly *Theophilus* Bishop of *Casarea*, and *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem*; by a Synod at *Rome*, where *Victor* presided; by another of the Bishops of *Pontus*, in which *Palma* presided; by another of the *Gallican* Bishops, in which *Irenaeus* presided, by another of the Bishops of the Province of *Osroena*, all whose Synodical Epistles are still to be seen, together with the Epistles of *Bathyllus*, and of several other Bishops out of Council. And such a Zealot was *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, in favour of this Decision, as to Excommunicate all the *Asiatick* Churches, and all others that adher'd to them. For which Rigor several of his Brethren of the
Episcopal

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Episcopal College rebuk'd him, particularly *Irenaeus*, in an Epistle which he wrote him in the Name of the Council he presided over; and where he gives him to understand, that the first Christians did not make this Difference a sufficient Ground for Breach of Communion and Charity, and alledges to him the Example of his own Predecessors, *Xystus*, *Telesphorus*, *Hyginus*, *Pius*, *Anicetus*, between the last of whom and *Polycarp*, while he continu'd with him, this Diversity of Practice, he says, had created not the least misunderstanding. The Synod of Bishops in *Palestine* took special care in their Encyclical Epistle to clear their Tradition in this Point, and intimated the Concurrence of the Church of *Alexandria* with their own, and at the close gave Directions for Copies of it to be communicated to all the Churches.

Commodus having reign'd Thirteen Years, and after him *Pertinax* about half a Year, *Severus* obtain'd the Imperial Diadem.

Among the choicest Ecclesiastical Authors of this time was *Heracitus*, who commented upon St. Paul's Epistles; *Maximus* of the Origin of Evil, and the Non-eternity of Matter; *Candidus* and *Apion* upon the Six Days of the Creation; and *Sextus* concerning the Revelation, not to mention the rest.

By this time *Artemon* had set abroad his Heresy, which was afterwards reviv'd by *Paul* of *Samosata*. The Hereticks of this Denomination, affirm'd the Son of God to be no more

more than an ordinary Man, and that this had been ever the constant Doctrine of the Church, down to the Days of *Victor* and *Zephyrinus*, (who succeeded *Victor* in the See of *Rome* in the Ninth Year (or thereabouts) of *Severus*) although it was notorious that *Theodotus*, a Currier, excommunicated by *Victor*, was the first Broacher of this Blasphemy; and that all the Fathers and Writers of the Church, down to the time of *Victor*, had asserted the Divinity of the Son agreeably to the plain Sense of the Holy Scriptures; which because these Deceivers despair'd of misinterpreting, * they metamorphoz'd and adulterated, some one way, and some another; for no two of their Copies agreed together; nay, some of them wholly rejected the Books of the *Old Testament*, confining themselves, as they said, to the *New Covenant of Grace*. And more account they made of *Euclid*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Galen*, and the like, than of the Inspir'd Writings, or the Doctrine of them. *Theodotus*, the Currier, had a Disciple call *Asclepiodotus*, and another of his own Name, by Trade, a Silver-Smith. These two bargain'd with one *Natalis*, a Confessor, to set up for Bishop of the Heresy, in consideration of which, a large Salary was to be paid him Monthly. *Natalis* re-

* A Master-piece of Impudence reserv'd for the Arians, and other more Modern Hereticks that have improv'd upon them, as the Socinians, &c.

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ceiv'd by Dreams many disheartening Rebukes from *Christ* himself, as being griev'd that one who had been a Sufferer for his Name, should perish; but neglecting these Reproofs time after time, at the last Angels were sent to beat and scourge him for a whole Night together, upon which he made a publick Confession of his Crime, laid himself at the Feet of *Zephyrinus*, the Clergy and Laity, and scarcely, even after a very rigid Process of Humiliation and Penance, obtain'd the Churches Absolution.

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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK VI.

NOW again, at the Pleasure of *Severus*, broke out a new Persecution, which spread it self over the Face of the whole Christian World; yet *Alexandria* seem'd to be the Center of its Fury, where, among Multitudes of Martyrs, who by Faith and Patience defeated all the fiery Darts of the Adversary, suffer'd *Leonides*, the Father of *Origen*, in the Tenth Year of *Severus*, and under the Episcopat of *Demetrius*, Successor to *Julian* in the Throne of *Alexandria*, before *Origen* had yet attain'd the Seventeenth Year of his Age. He had been carefully instructed by his Father, as well in all the several Parts of prophane Literature, as,
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more especially, in the Province of Sacred Learning, and the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, in which, while a Child, he prov'd so forward and industrious a Proficient, and so full of weighty and subtil Enquiries, that his Father would ever and anon check the Lad's Curiosity, and the boldness of his early Speculations: At the same time in private he continually offer'd up his Praises to God that had given him such a hopeful Son, and would often kiss the Breast of the Child as he lay asleep. When he understood his Father was in Chains, young *Origen*, who before had been so very ambitious of Martyrdom, that scarce all the Persuasions of his Mother had Power to restrain him from throwing himself directly into the Hands of the Torturers, was now so very impatient, and resolv'd to deliver himself up to them; that his Mother had no other way to keep him at home but hiding his Cloaths. Being thus hinder'd from putting his Design in Execution, he pleas'd himself, however, with writing a Letter to his Father, encouraging and exhorting him to embrace so blessed an Opportunity of Dying for Christ, and entreating him not to be sway'd by any Considerations or Concern for his Family. After his Father's Martyrdom, who left behind him a Widow with Six Sons, all younger by several Years than *Origen*, and the Patrimony of the Family confiscated to the Emperor, he was taken into the House of a certain rich Matron, where he continu'd but a little time, because he refus'd

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fus'd to communicate with one *Paul*, a Here-
 tick, whom the Lady much admir'd and had
 adopted, and with whom, inveigled by his
 Eloquence, great numbers of the Orthodox, as
 well as others, daily joyn'd in the publick Offices
 of Devotion. But *Origen*, though he submit-
 ted to converse with him, could by no means
 comply thus far, as being a severe Observer of
 the Canons and Discipline of the Catholick
 Church; and so taking leave of his new Pa-
 troneſs, he betook himself to teaching *Gram-
 mar* for a Livelihood, having always, but more
 eſpecially after the Death of his Father, ap-
 ply'd himself diligently to the buſineſs of Hu-
 mane Learning. He had ſeveral Eminent Scho-
 lars, Converts from Gentiliſm; among the
 reſt *Plutarch*, afterwards a Martyr, and his
 Brother *Heraclas*, the ſame that ſucceeded *De-
 metrius* in the Chair of *Alexandria*. When *Ori-
 gen* was Eighteen Years old, he was appointed
Director of the Catechumens, and in the Days of
 Perſecution ſo boldly and ſedulouſly attended
 and aſſiſted the Sufferers, as well after as be-
 fore Sentence, that he came often in danger
 of being ſton'd to Death, or tore to Pieces by
 the Rabble. Upon his receiving his *Director-
 ſhip* from *Demetrius*, his Biſhop, he quitted his
 Grammar-School, and ſold his Books, a very
 choice Collection of Antiquities; in value for
 which his Chapman was to allow him Two
 pence a day, and upon this little Penſion he
 ſubſiſted; being well exerciſ'd in all the Du-
 ties of an Aſcetic, inſomuch that he ſlept
 upon

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upon the Floor, went without Shoes, and forbore the drinking of Wine so long together, that his Self denial had well-nigh cost him his Life. Nor was he less Charitable and Open-handed, than Temperate and Mortify'd. This precise Conformity of his Life and Conversation, with the Scope and Elegance of his Doctrines, won over such considerable numbers to embrace them, that the *Gentiles* in *Alexandria* associating against him, unlodg'd him from House to House, till in the Conclusion they forc'd him to leave the City. Sometime after his Admission to the Employment of Teaching the Catechumens, he castrated himself privately, being induc'd to do so by an erroneous Construction, which he put upon those Words of our Saviour, (*St. Matth. c. 19. v. 12.*) *There be Eunuchs, which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake*; and withal, to sow up the Mouths of the Infidels, who might otherwise from the Verdure of his Age, have taken an occasion of Calumny, because by his Office he was oblig'd to converse alike with both Sexes; which Fact of his coming to the Ears of *Demetrius*, his Bishop; *Demetrius* at first was pleas'd to applaud the gallantry of the Intention, till grown envious at the Reputation and Esteem which the Merits of *Origen* had every where obtain'd; and the more, because the two Illustrious Bishops of *Casarea* and *Jerusalem* had lately invested him with the Dignity and Character of a Presbyter: *Demetrius* was at last so uneasy, that he sent Circular Letters to all his

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his Brethren of the Episcopal College, to fasten a Reproach upon *Origen* for the Violence he had offer'd himself, and upon the two Prelates aforesaid, for ordaining him; and withal, dismiss his Expostulatory Epistles to the Ordainers, charging them over and above with an Innovation, for that before they had ordain'd *Origen*, they had set him to Preach and Read the Scriptures publickly in the Church; which Act the two Bishops, on t'other hand, defended from several approv'd Precedents. Sometime before this Dispute happen'd, the Prefect of *Arabia*, having by Letters, requested that *Origen* might come and instruct him; *Demetrius* gladly seiz'd so fair an Opportunity to remove *Origen* further off, and sent him to the Prefect, whom he quickly proselyted. From whence he return'd to *Alexandria*, where publick Confusions and Tumults arising, he retir'd into *Egypt*, and again to *Cesarea* in *Palestine*, whence (*Demetrius* repenting, and solliciting him to return) he came back to *Alexandria*. As to the unhappy Consequences which these harsh Proceedings of *Demetrius* brought along with them, and the Dissentions and Feuds this Affair occasion'd in the Church, I have given an Account of them in the Second Book of the *Apology* for *Origen*, compos'd by the joynt endeavours of the blessed Martyr *Pamphilus*, and my self. But *Origen's* Authority in the World maugre all Opposition, grew greater and greater every Day, while the course of his time was happily employ'd in a careful and

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constant Attendance upon the Duties of his Function.

Severus reign'd Eighteen Years, and was succeeded by his Son *Antoninus*, at what time *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who had been a very Eminent Confessor under the *Severian* Persecution, died, and was succeeded by *Narcissus*.

Origen being now more than ever determin'd to meditate and examine into the Sacred Text, made himself Master of the *Hebrew*; and having collected and well-acquainted himself with the Vulgar *Hebrew* Copies, and, beside that of the *Septuagint*, with all the other Translations of the *Old Testament* he could procure; as also the several Copies of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*; to these he added two Anonymous Versions, which had been long bury'd in Obscurity. The first of these, he tells us, was found at *Nicopolis*, near *Actium*. Of the Book of *Psalms* he met with a Seventh Exemplar, and one of the three last of these Exemplars, he says, was found in an old Cask at *Jericho*, in the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla*. These Six Interpretations he laid into one Body, distributing them into Distinctions of Verses, and placing them in six several Columns, so as to answer and face one another; the *Hebrew* Text was added, but a part from the Six Interpretations, and this is what we call the *Hexapla*. Afterwards he laid out the *Tetrapla*, consisting of the *Septuagint* Version, and the Versions of *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*, but separately

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rately dispos'd. This *Symmachus* was an *Ebionæan*, and has left us an Exposition upon, but really design'd against, the Gospel of St. *Matthew*. Sometime after, at the Sollicitation of *Ambrosius*, (converted by *Origen* from the Heresy of the *Valentinians*) *Origen* begun his Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures; *Ambrosius* having undertaken to furnish out all Instruments and Assistances, proper for the carrying on of so great a Work, and particularly to contribute his own Labour and Application.

In the mean time died *Urban*, Bishop of *Rome*, Eight Years after his Consecration. *Pontianus* succeeded him; and *Zebinus* succeeded *Philetus* in the Chair of *Antioch*.

The five first Books of *Origen's* Commentaries upon St. *John's* Gospel, he wrote (as he tells us in the Sixth) at *Alexandria*. Of his Commentaries upon this Gospel, we have now no more than Twenty two Books remaining. His Eight first Books (there are Twelve in all) of Commentaries upon *Genesis*, together with his Commentary upon the first Twenty five *Psalms*, and upon the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, whereof we have only Five Tomes at present, (which make mention of Two Books compos'd by him concerning the Resurrection) were also compil'd at *Alexandria*; and so were his Books entitul'd *συναξίς*. In his Exposition upon the first *Psalms*, he gives us a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the *Old Testament*; which he affirms to be Two and Twenty in

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number.

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number *. In the First Book of his Comment upon St. *Matthew*, he asserts the Divine Authority of the Four Gospels, affirming that that of St. *Mark* was dictated to the Evangelist from the Mouth of St. *Peter*. The Epistles of St. *Paul* he speaks of in general in the Fifth Book of his Comment upon St. *John's* Gospel, without enumerating their Titles. The Second Epistle of St. *Peter*, and the Second and Third of St. *John*, he allows as Canonical, though they were not universally receiv'd for such. In his Homilies upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he supposes the Sense of all and every part of that Epistle to have been immediately communicated by some one or other of the Apostles, most probably, and according to general Tradition by St. *Paul*, but that the Stile and Elegance were the After-Imbellishments of some other Hand. In the Reign of the Emperor *Gordian*, *Origen* compil'd his Comments upon *Esaïas* and *Ezekiel*. The latter, of which none

* And the same as receiv'd for Canonical by the Reformed Churches, though the Twelve Minor Prophets, which together should make the Twenty second Number, as the Four Greater Prophets make the Twenty first, are omitted, probably through the carelessness of Transcribers; for Eusebius tells us afterwards of a large Comment which he wrote upon them; but besides, in Rufinus's Version this Book has its place, as it has also in St. Hilary's Prologue to his Commentary upon the Psalms, which Commentary is all borrow'd from Origen's; but, as for the Two Books of Maccabees, which are the only Apocryphal Books he mentions; he says they must not be rank'd among the Canonical.

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is lost, and also part of his Comment upon the *Canticles*, he finish'd at *Athens*. What remains of the Comment upon the former, amounts to Thirty Volumes. The Comment upon the *Canticles* he finish'd at *Casarea*. When he was above Threescore Years old, he suffer'd *Notaries*, which he never would before, to take down his Sermons in Writing, and compos'd his Eight Books against *Celsus*, in Defence of the Christian Religion; a Comment in Twenty Volumes upon St. *Matthew*, and another upon the Twelve Lesser Prophets, of which there now remain no more than Twenty five Books. Add to these above an Hundred of his Epistles, which I have formerly collected into a Volume. But for an entire Catalogue and Account of the Works of this Great Man, which would take up too much room in our History, I refer the Reader to my *Apology* for Origen, and my *Life* of Pamphilus, and recommend him farther to the Epistles of *Origen* himself, to be inform'd of the Miseries he sustain'd under the *Decian* Persecution; among the rest, how he was loaded with Chains and Bolts, and left for several Days together in the Stocks with his Legs distended as wide as they could be stretch'd, beside a thousand other Tortures, though his Life was spar'd at last upon the earnest Importunity of the Judge himself.

The Scholars of this Excellent Master prov'd extraordinary Instances of Piety, as well as of Learning and Understanding. *Plutarch* was

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the first of them, upon whose account *Origen* had like to have been sacrific'd, for his close Attendance upon him, even to the last Minute of his Martyrdom. *Serenus* and *Herais* (a Woman, and a Catechumen) were Burnt. *Heraclides*, another of his Catechumens, and *Heron*, a *Neophyte*, were beheaded, and so was another *Serenus*, after a tryal of variety of Tortures. *Basilides*, the Martyr, was also a Disciple of *Origen's*. The Story of his Conversion is very singular and surprizing. When *Potamiana*, a Christian Virgin, adorn'd with all the Graces of a bright and lovely Form, as well as of a chaste and religious Soul, having undergone extream and inexpressible Cruelties, and provok'd *Aquila* the Judge, who threaten'd to expose her to the Lust of the Gladiators, by an Answer which cast a Reproach upon his Deities, was immediately condemn'd along with her Mother, *Marcella*, to the Flames; *Basilides* being one of the Officers appointed to attend the Execution, behav'd himself with great Decency and Civility, repressing the Rudeness, and stopping the obscene Mouths of the Multitude. For this the Virgin told him, *She would Petition earnestly to her God and Saviour to reward him, bidding him believe and take Courage*; and so, when she had thus acquitted her self, she was scalded to Death in Pitch. Sometime after *Basilides* being call'd upon to take his Oath, as a Heathen, declar'd himself a Christian, and was laid in Chains. The Christians, who visited him, ask'd the Cause of so sudden a Con-

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a Conversion, and he told them, *That Potamiæna, three Nights after her Martyrdom, came to him, and put a Crown upon his Head, and assur'd him that God had heard her Prayers for him, and that within a very little time he should have his Residence in Heaven.* After this he was baptiz'd into the Faith of *Christ*, and the Day following beheaded for the Profession of it. Nor did the Maiden Martyr appear only to *Basilides*, but to several others, who thereupon readily embrac'd Christianity. *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, was another of *Origen's* Pupils; and so was the celebrated *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, and his Brother *Athenodorus*, both afterwards, while they were yet very young, promoted to the Episcopal Dignity. *Mamea*, Mother to the Emperor *Alexander*, a very Pious Woman, when she was at *Antioch*, being acquainted with the Character of *Origen*, sent for him, and a splendid Retinue to attend him, and oblig'd him to stay with her for some time together, that she might enjoy the benefit of his most wholesome and admirable Instructions. But it is impossible to give a Catalogue of all the Prodigies of Piety and Learning, which came out of the School of *Origen*. Let the Reader be left to compute upon their numbers, when he first understands that such Crowds of Scholars daily throng'd to his Lectures from Sun-rising to Sun-setting, that he was at last oblig'd to assign the Instruction of the Under-Proficients to *Heraclas*; to whom afterwards, when he left *Alexandria* and went to *Cæsarea*, he recommend-

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ed the whole Burthen. *Firmilian*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, was a great Admirer and Friend of *Origen's*, would often send for him, and take Journies as far as into *Judea*, to visit and consult him. *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theoctistus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, had so great a Veneration for him, that they submitted to him entirely, the Interpretation of Scripture, and the Direction of their Churches.

How much he was consider'd and esteem'd by the *Gentile* Philosophers, and Learned Men of his time, appears from the great Character they give of him in their Books, many of which they have dedicated to him, and submitted many more to his Examination and Judgment. *Porphiry*, the *Sicilian*, in his Invective against the Holy Scriptures, when he will deliver his Mind about *Origen*, is distracted and confounded between Calumny and Commendation. He tells us, *Origen* had been personally known to him, That indeed he was a Scholar of the first Magnitude, and admirably vers'd in the Writings and Opinions of all the Philosophers, particularly the *Platonists*, *Pythagoreans*, and *Stoicks*; but that being Born a *Gentile*, and educated in the Principles of Heathenism, he became afterwards a Convert to those of Christianity; whereas the great *Ammonius*, his Master, though bred up a Christian, when he came to understand himself went over to the Heathens: Than, which two Allegations, nothing is more notoriously false, for *Origen*, as
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we have seen already, was bred up in the Christian Religion, and *Ammonius* continu'd a steady and zealous Professor of it to his dying Day, as his Book of the *Harmony between Moses and Jesus*, and several other excellent Pieces which he left behind him, sufficiently testify. Furthermore, *Origen* himself, in one of his Epistles, confesses with what Assiduity and Diligence he had both study'd and taught the *Greek* Philosophy and Liberal Sciences, and justifies it partly from the usefulness of them to confute and convince Hereticks and Unbelievers, (multitudes of whom, as well as of the Orthodox, he says, frequented his Auditory) and partly from the Example and Practice of *Pantannus* and *Heraclas*.

Clemens, the Successor of *Pantannus*, in the Christian Academy at *Alexandria*, had been the Guide and Improver of *Origen's* tenderest Years. This *Clemens*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*, wrot his Eight Books of *Stromata* or *Miscellanies*, consisting of a curious and copious Collection, as well of Matters Historical, Philosophical, and Philological, as Theological and Sacred, wherein having occasion to prove *Moses* more ancient than any of the *Greek* Writers, he makes use of the Names and Authorities of the other *Jewish* Historians, (then extant) besides *Moses*, which, it seems, were Five, *Philo*, *Aristobulus*, *Josephus*, *Demetrius*, *Eupolemus*. In the beginning of this Work, he declares himself to have been an immediate Successor of those Christians, who liv'd the
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next to the very times of the Apostles. With his *Stromata* we have his Eight Books of *Institutions*, in which an Account is given us, not only of the Canonical and Universally receiv'd Books of Scripture, but also of those Books whose Divine Authority was doubted. He ascribes the Epistle to the *Hebrews* to St. Paul, which, he says, that Apostle wrote in *Hebrew*, and St. Luke translated into *Greek*, and that St. Paul omitted the mention of his Name, because the *Hebrews* were offended at him, and because he was properly the Apostle of the *Gentiles*. He affirms, upon the Authority of an old Tradition, that the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, were penn'd before the other two, and that St. *John* added his in the last place, to supply what concern'd our Saviour's Divinity, the former three having been particular in what related to his Humanity. *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, speaks very respectfully and honourably of this great and learned Father, in an Epistle of his to *Origen*.

At the same time flourish'd several other Eminent Ecclesiastical Writers; among the rest, *Berillus*, Bishop of *Bosra*, whose Epistles, with a great many very elegant and curious Tracts of the same Author, are still abroad. In the Reign of *Gordian* he preach'd up a most blasphemous Heresy, asserting, That Christ was not a Person distinct from the Father, and that it was the Father's Divinity which was in him after his Incarnation, from which Error, *Origen*, assisted by a good number of Bishops, recover'd

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cover'd him, after many Disputations and Debates had been agitated, and a Synod call'd together upon that Account.

Hyppolitus was another of the Writers of that time, and held in great Esteem. He perform'd upon the Six Days-Creation, and upon part of the Sacred History immediately following it, upon the *Canticles*, and upon part of *Ezekiel*, against all the Heresies; and against that of *Marcion* distinctly, beside his Paschal Cycle, his Treatise concerning the *Passover*, and several other Pieces remaining still, and some lost.

There is also preserv'd to this Day, the Disputation of *Caius*, which passed between him and *Proclus*, when *Zephyrinus* held the Chair of Rome against the Heresy of the *Cataphryges*. In this Discourse *Caius* ascribes no more than Thirteen Epistles to St. *Paul*, whom divers of the Roman Church now, as well as *Caius* then, do not believe to have been Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

In the time of *Severus*, one *Judas* wrote a Dissertation concerning the Seventy Weeks of *Daniel*, and was induc'd to believe that the times of *Anti-Christ* were commenc'd by the Violence of the Persecution then raging.

Severus reign'd Eighteen Years, after whom succeeded his Son *Antoninus Caracalla*. In his time *Alexander* was advanc'd to the Episcopal Throne of *Jerusalem*, in the place of *Narcissus* still living: The occasion of it, as follows. *Narcissus*, a Man of a most exemplary Probity
and

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and Piety, and reported to have wrought many Miracles, (as particularly, that by his Prayers he made Water serve the purposes of Oyl upon an *Easter-Vigil*, when the Sconces could not otherwise be supply'd) had a scandalous Accusation brought against him by a Knot of unsuspected Villains, that were under an Apprehension of being detected by him, and of receiving the Punishments their Practices had deserv'd. And to make sure work, they clinch'd their Indictment with Sacramental Imprecations upon their own Heads; one wishing he might be Burnt if he ly'd; a second, that the Plague might light on him; and a third, that he might lose the Blessing of his Eye-sight. *Narcissus* therefore, though his Adversaries gain'd belief upon no body, made this an opportunity, however, of retiring from the World, and so quitting his Bishoprick, he sequester'd himself to a Life of Solitude and Meditation. Soon after, the first of the three Evidences was, as by accident, burnt in his Bed, and his Family with him; the second died of a Pestilence, which over-spread all Parts of his Body; and the third repenting and confessing the whole Secret of their Combination, lost both his Eyes with continual Weeping.

Narcissus being no where to be found or heard of, his Suffragans consecrated *Dius* in his room, next whom succeeded *Germanius*, and after *Germanius*, *Gordius*; when *Narcissus* returning from his Privacy, could not be prevail'd upon to reassume the Episcopal Authority, though he
was

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was earnestly press'd to it by his Fellow Bishops, making the burthen of his great Age his Excuse; and so *Alexander*, who was before a Bishop in *Cappadocia*, being then at *Alexandria*, by the Body of the Bishops within that Province, was (where by an expresse Appointment from God he had been detain'd for some time) consecrated to the Exercise of those Functions which *Narcissus* had profess'd himself no longer able to discharge. *Alexander* in his Epistle to the *Antinoites* tells us, that at the time of his writing that Epistle, *Narcissus* was 116 Years old.

Much about this time, as we learn from *Alexander's* Epistle to the Church of *Antioch*, *Serapion*, Bishop of *Antioch*, died, and was succeeded by *Asclepiades*. The Works of *Serapion* which remain, are his Exhortation to *Domninus*, (who in time of Persecution had apostatiz'd to *Judaism*) his Epistles, and his Animadversions upon the pretended Gospel of *St. Peter*, which, he says, was recommended first by the Sect of the *Phantasiasts*.

After the Death of *Antonine*, (who reign'd Seven Years and Six Months) succeeded *Macrinus*; after *Macrinus* (who reign'd One Year) another *Antonine*, in whose First Year *Zephyrinus* died, having sat in the Chair of *Rome* Eighteen Years, and was succeeded by *Callistus*, who reign'd Five Years after, to *Urban*. *Antonine* reign'd Four Years, and was succeeded by *Alexander*, about the same time when *Asclepiades* died, and was succeeded in the See of *Antioch* by *Philetus*. *Urban* govern'd the Church
of

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of *Rome* Eight Years, and his Successor was *Pontianus*, and after *Philetus*, *Zebinus* came to the See of *Antioch*. In the Tenth Year of the Emperor *Alexander* died *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, Forty three Years after his Consecration, and was succeeded by *Heraclas*. The Emperor *Alexander* reign'd Twelve Years, and was succeeded by *Maximin*, who for the hatred he bore to his Predecessor's Family, of which the greater part were *Christians*, rais'd a Persecution against the Clergy: In this Persecution suffer'd *Ambrosius* and *Prothetius*, (to whom *Origen* dedicated his Book of *Martyrdom*) and behav'd themselves very bravely. *Maximin* reign'd Three Years, and *Gordian* was his Successor. In the Reign of *Gordian* died *Pontianus*, after he had been Bishop Six Years, and was succeeded in the See of *Rome* by *Anteros*, as *Anteros* e'er long by *Fabian*, who being lately come out of the Country, and present as a Spectator, at the time of Election upon the Death of *Anteros*, was distinguish'd (from Heaven) to be the Successor, by a Dove descending and seating her self upon his Head, and so presently the People bore him off to the Episcopal Throne.

Gordian reign'd Six Years, and to him succeeded *Philip*, a Christian. 'Tis related, That *Babylas* offended at certain evil Practices of this Emperor, refus'd to admit him to Communion, till he had undergone the same Penance which was enjoyn'd the Lapsers, and that the Emperor most readily submitted to the Discipline, and reform'd his Irregularities. In

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In the Third Year of *Philip* died *Heracles*, the Successor of *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*. The latter held the Chair Forty three Years; the former having heretofore consign'd the Care of his Academy to *Dionysius*, (a Pupil of *Origen's*) held it Sixteen Years, and was succeeded by *Dionysius*. Contemporary with these venerable Assertors and Guardians of the Truth, were two Heretical Pestilences; one in *Arabia*, (soon laid asleep by the Conduct of a Council and *Origen*) which affirm'd, That Soul and Body perish'd together, but that they should be reviv'd together at the last Day: The other, that of the *Helcesaites*, who rejected all the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and other Parts of Scripture, made the denying of the Faith a matter indifferent, provided only *Man believ'd with the Heart*, and pretended to have receiv'd a Book from Heaven, affording all that would attend and rely upon it, a new Method of obtaining a Remission of Sins and Everlasting Life. But this Goblin disappear'd in an instant.

Philip reign'd Seven Years, and his Successor, *Decius*, in despite to the Memory of him, kindled a new Persecution, in which was dignify'd with Martyrdom, *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, and succeeded by *Cornelius*; *Babylas*, the Successor of *Zebinus* in the See of *Antioch*, succeeded by *Fabius*; *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who had before been well acquainted with Suffering for Christ, and was succeeded by *Mazabanes*. At *Alexandria*, *Dionysius*, their
Bishop,

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Bishop, (as he relates of himself) took up a Resolution to keep at home, and wait the worst; but after four Days, (during which time the Messengers had search'd all places for him but his own House, where they least expected to find him) being immediately commanded away by a Revelation from God, he and several Christians along with him quitted the place, which prov'd of advantageous Consequence to some others of the distress'd Christians whom he comforted and encourag'd, as it came in his way. Soon after *Dionysius*, and his Company, falling into the Hands of the Inquisitors, were brought Prisoners to *Taposiris*, where a Band of *Rusticks*, without their Knowledge, (for they took them for House-breakers) and no less against their Inclinations, rescued them from their Keepers, and carry'd them off, reluctant and averse, as they were to those Methods of Deliverance. One *Metra*, an ancient Man, when the Infidels had barbarously beat him with Clubs, and run Spikes into his Eyes and Face, was batter'd to Death with Stones. A Woman, whose Name was *Quinta*, was dragg'd by the Hair through the Streets, whipp'd, dash'd upon Millstones, and then ston'd to Death. The Houses of all *Christians* were plunder'd, the most valuable of their Effects brought away, the rest thrown about the Streets and destroy'd, and themselves forc'd to fly to Deserts and Solitudes, and court all manner of Necessities, Miseries, and Dangers; many of them (particularly *Chera-*
mon,

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mon, Bishop of *Nilus*, with his Family) being never heard of afterwards, and others made Slaves by the *Sarazens*. *Apollonia* (she was a Virgin) had all her Teeth beat out, and was Burnt. *Serapion* was most inhumanely tortur'd, and when his Bones had been broke, thrown headlong from an Upper Chamber. These horrid Severities, with many of the same kind, were offer'd before the Publication of the Emperor's Edict for Persecution; but so soon as ever that came abroad, 'tis unconceiveable with what Fury and Violence the Church was assail'd. The Terror of it scar'd not a few of the Christians into Apostacy and Idolatry, some sooner, some later, some after Imprisonment, and some even after they had stood out the Torture; which unhappy Defection render'd the Constancy of those that embrac'd the Tryal, much more conspicuous and affecting. Among these, one *Julian*, then visited with the Gout, was plac'd upon a Camel, Scourg'd and Burnt. The same Treatment was the Lot of *Eunus* that had lent a helping hand to bring him to his Tryal. *Besas*, one of the Guards that stood by, and shew'd them Favour, was thereupon brought by the People to the Tribunal, and, declaring himself a Christian, knock'd o'the Head with a Battle-Ax. *Macar* was Burnt alive. *Epimachus* and *Alexander* having defeated all their other Cruelties, were consumed in Quick-Lime. *Ammonarium*, a Holy Virgin, had assur'd the Judge she would not be discompos'd by any of his Tortures, and when she

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had

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had made good her Promise, was executed. *Mercuria*, an aged Woman; *Dionysia* (who had several Children) and another *Ammonarium*, were Beheaded. *Heron*, *Ater*, *Isidore*, were shatter'd with Clubs, and then Burnt. *Dioscorus*, a Youth of about Fifteen Years of Age, upon whom not all the Judge's Importunities nor Inhumanities could make the least Impression, was sent off, and a time allotted him to recollect himself. *Nemesion* was first Indicted as a Felon, but that Slander being easily refuted, for the Profession of Christianity he was Burnt among the Malefactors, having first undergone a double Portion of the Tortures which were appointed the Criminals. *Ischyriion* was impal'd alive. *Ammon*, *Zeno*, *Ptolomy*, *Ingenuus*, *Theophilus*, and others, of the Soldiery, so boldly and openly incited and encourag'd the Confessors to assert their Faith, that perceiving they should be forthwith call'd to Examination, they run before-hand up to the very Face of the Judge, professed themselves Christians, and went from the Bar to their Execution, exulting and glorifying God, for that he had found them worthy to Die for his Name; the Prefect and other Officers being as much astonish'd and frighted, as the Martyrs were transported.

This Relation we take from an *Epistle* of *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, to *Fabius*, Bishop of *Antioch*; beside which, he wrote several *Epistles* to several Bishops and Churches, relating to the Schism of *Novatus*, and particularly

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larly one to *Novatus* himself. *Dionysius* to *Novatus* our Brother, Health. You say you have made your Separation with great Reluctancy; but the only way to make us believe it, is by returning and reconciling your self to the Church. Assure your self, 'tis equally our Duty to embrace Extremities, and the Tryal of Martyrdom, for the Preservation of Unity in the Communion of the Church, as for the Testimony and Profession of the Christian Faith; and indeed rather more, seeing in the latter Case every Man only delivers his own Soul; but in the former he suffers that he may deliver all the Souls in the Church. So that if you can persuade or oblige the Brethren that have deserted the Communion of the Church, to reconcile themselves to her, the Importance of so good a Work, will more than supersede the blemish of your past Error; or if they will not be prevail'd upon, deliver at least your own Soul. God grant you to consult for the Churches Peace. This *Novatus* was a Presbyter in the Church of *Rome*, and would by no means allow that any Person, who had laps'd in the Persecution, should upon Repentance be readmitted to Communion; upon that rigid Consideration, separating himself with his Followers, (who distinguish'd themselves by the Name of *Cathari*; or *The Saints*) from the Body of the Catholick Church. This occasion'd the convening of several Synods in *Italy*, *Africa*, and elsewhere, and all of them condemn'd the Positions and Practices of *Novatus*, and excommunicated the Author of them and his Adherents; among whom, the well-meaning and

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more considerable, as *Maximus*, and *Urbanus*, and *Sidonius*, three very Eminent Confessors, being alarm'd by this Authoritative Sentence, made a nicer Scrutiny into the Practices and Designs of the Seducer, and finding them very foul and flagitious, departed from his Cause, declar'd publickly how much they had been impos'd upon, bewail'd their own unhappiness, and joyn'd themselves again to the Catholick Church. The Bottom of all this Mystery of Iniquity, was *Novatus's* Aspiring to the Episcopal Dignity, though no Man pretended to be less ambitious of attaining it. And yet so much it was the dear Desire of his Soul, that he could not have an easy Minute, till having sent an Invitation to three weak and ignorant *Italian* Bishops, and taking an opportunity to make them Drunk, he got himself clandestinely Consecrated by them, in Opposition to his Bishop, *Cornelius*. One of them afterwards confess'd the Crime, repented, and was restor'd, but only to Lay-Communion; the other two were depriv'd by the Church, and Successors substituted in their room. *As if Novatus could possibly be ignorant (says Cornelius) of the Rule of one Bishop, and one Altar.* And it was yet more scandalous and abominable, that this vile Intruder should assume the Character of a Metropolitan, before he had, indeed, been Baptiz'd, in the manner prescrib'd by the Church, for though in a Fit of Sicknes he had receiv'd the Sacramental *Washing* at the Hands of the Priest, yet the Bishop had never seal'd
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the Baptism by signing him with the Sign of the Cross; and because he wanted this Canonical Seal of Confirmation, when the time came that he was to be Ordain'd Presbyter, the Proposal was look'd upon as contrary to Canon, and met with a general Opposition; beside, that himself had fail'd in the time of Persecution; for, though call'd upon importunately, was afraid to visit any suffering Christians, and in a Passion vow'd, *He'd be a Presbyter no longer*. Afterwards, however, when he had usurp'd a Title to the Episcopal Power, to prevent the returning of any of his Party to their Bishop, as often as he administer'd the Sacrament, he requir'd them to Swear upon it, that they would never forsake him, and go over to *Cornelius*. But these Methods, instead of helping his Cause, serv'd only to ruin it, for 'twas not long e'er almost all his Friends and Followers abandon'd him; and among the rest, the Illustrious *Moses*, since crown'd with Martyrdom.

Dionysius, in his Letter to *Fabius*, by way of Reflection upon the uncharitable Determination of *Novatus*, tells a Story of *Serapion*, an old Man, that had Apostatiz'd, and done Sacrifice, and therefore his Absolution had been from time to time deferr'd. This poor Wretch falling into a dangerous Illness, lost his Speech and his Senses for four Days together, when, a little recovering both, he sent in all hast for a Presbyter. The Presbyter was himself Sick in Bed, and unable to visit him, but he sent him a Consecrated *Viaticum*. So soon as

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his Child (that had been the Messenger) was approaching, before he had yet set Eyes on him, he recover'd his Speech again, which in the Interim had fail'd, and directed him, since the Presbyter could not come in Person, to give him what he had order'd, and release him. Accordingly he receiv'd it, and immediately expir'd.

THE

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK VII.

AFTER *Decius*, whose Reign lasted no longer than Two Years, the Imperial Scepter came to the Hands of *Gallus*, another Disturber of the Church.

To *Cornelius* (Bishop about Three Years) succeeded *Lucius*, and to *Lucius* (Eight Months after) *Stephen*, between whom and St. *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, the Question was disputed, Whether 'twas necessary that Converts from Heresy should be rebaptiz'd; or only receive Confirmation by Imposition of Hands. *Stephen* pleaded ancient Usage for the latter, St. *Cyprian* urg'd his own Arguments for the former; which by the Decision of several Councils, that

assembled upon this occasion in the *Western* Church were over-rul'd; as the like Authority had by this time vanquish'd all the dangerous, wild Efforts of *Novatus*, and restor'd a perfect Union and Tranquillity among all the Parts of the Catholick Church; concerning which, *Dionysius* informs us in his Letters to *Stephen*: And in his Third Epistle to *Philemon*, a *Roman* Presbyter, to justify his curious and earnest Enquiries into the Writings and Traditions of Hereticks, declares he had receiv'd a Commission immediately from Heaven to examine and baffle them; and as to the Judgment of the Church upon the Topick of *Rebaptization*, he says he had always remember'd it her Practice, as often as any Persons that had follow'd the Interest or Communion of Hereticks, whether openly or secretly, and had therefore been excommunicated, became sensible of their Error, and submitted to the Penance impos'd, that they were admitted to Communion without the Repetition of Baptism, by virtue of which 'twas allow'd, That they had been already made Partakers of the Influences of the Holy Spirit. And in his Fifth Epistle to *Xystus*, as a Specimen of his own Management in this concern, speaking of a certain Brother, that had conceiv'd such a Dissatisfaction and Horror at the Form and Manner of that Heretical Baptism, wherewith he had formerly been initiated, as to forbear communicating with the Orthodox, even in the Daily Offices of Devotion; he lets us understand that he gave him Comfort, and
 without

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without any Scruple directed him not only to joyn in the daily Prayers, but also to receive the Holy Sacrament.

After *Gallus*, who govern'd about as long time as *Decius*, succeeded *Valerian* and his Son *Gallienus*. *Valerian*, at first, upon his Accession to the Imperial Authority, express'd a gracious Tenderneſs and Favour for the Christians, and many of them were very courteously entertain'd and promoted by him, till *Macrianus*, his Receiver-General, and President of the *Egyptian Magi*, who had always been an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and highly reſented the Contempt which the Christians caſt upon the Heathen Deities, and the Power of Expulſion that was exercis'd over them, inſinuated into the Emperor a ridiculous Fondneſs for the Initiatory Myſteries of the *Egyptian* Priests, and to wed him to their bloody Sacrifices and execrable Rites, alienated his Mind from the Christians, and from the Belief of that God and Providence, which himſelf had ever mock'd and oppos'd, in as much as he devoted all the Services of his Soul to his Interest and Ambition, for though he knew his own Bodily Conſtitution was too feeble to ſupport the weight of the Imperial Diadem, yet he had two Sons to leave behind him, for whom he projected nothing leſs than Maſteſty and Univerſal Dominion.

Now, therefore, at the Inſtance of this *Macrianus*, the Emperor begins Hoſtilities againſt the Christians. *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*,
(and

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(and with him *Maximus* a Presbyter, (Successor afterwards to *Dionysius* in the Chair of *Alexandria*) three Deacons, *Faustus*, (afterwards a Martyr under *Dioclesian*) *Eusebius*, (afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*) *Charemon*, and some others) are summon'd before *Emilian* the Prefect, who very gravely admonishes them that both by Writing, and in Person, he had us'd all manner of Arguments to bring them to a fair Understanding of things, and more especially of the Emperor's great Goodness and Clemency. *Dionysius* reply'd, *That as to worshipping the Divinities of the Heathens, he and his Fellow Christians knew no other Object to which their Adorations were due, but the only true God, Creator of all things, from whom their Majesties, Valerian and Gallienus, receiv'd their Authority, and to whom the Christians offer'd up daily Prayers that the Reign of them might be long and prosperous. Well, but (says Emilian) why cannot you Adore an Emperor as well as Pray for him? To whom again Dionysius, We Christians Adore but one God.* Upon this, the Prefect having first reproach'd them, as those that had insulted the Lenity of their Prince, Banish'd them to *Cephro* in *Libya*, forbidding them to Assemble in the Places of Prayer, and commanding them (*Dionysius* then struggling with a Distemper) immediately to repair to their *Libyan* Quarters. *Dionysius* notwithstanding took as effectual care that his Flock should have the Benefit of Publick Communion, as if he had continu'd among them, while they at *Cephro* had not only the Comfort

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Comfort of a numerous Congregation, but an opportunity likewise of Converting the Natives, to whom as yet the Gospel had never been Preach'd. And herein their Success was answerable to the Goodness of their Intentions, though the first Approaches they made had like to have cost them their Lives. From thence they were order'd towards the Province of *Mareotis*, into a more barren and barbarous Region, where again they propagated the Word of God, conceiving themselves specially appointed thereunto by these remarkable Methods of his Providence in removing them. *Colluthio* was the Name of the Place assign'd for the Residence of *Dionysius*, where, though a Christian was rarely seen before his Arrival, yet afterwards many came from a neighbouring City to converse with him, and joyn in his Prayers. But alas! these were no more than an inconsiderable Portion of the Rigors and Distresses which the great Confessor underwent, as we learn from himself. All this while at *Alexandria*, the Christians of both Sexes, and of all Ages and Conditions, were rack'd and mangl'd with every kind of Torture, and sent out of a miserable World by a thousand Arts and Machines of Cruelty. And, yet, as terrible as they were, these Proceedings could not discourage *Maximus*, *Dioscorus*, *Demetrius*, and *Lucius*, (Presbyters) and *Faustus*, *Eusebius*, *Cheremon*, (Deacons) from Assisting and Administring to the Confessors in Chains; and so fearless was *Eusebius*, as to take away the Bodies of
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of the Martyrs and Bury them. At *Casarea* in *Palestina*, *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, were thrown to the Wild Beasts, having left the Security of the Country where they had lain disguiz'd for some time, on purpose to present themselves before the Inquisitors. With these there suffered a Woman, reported to have been a *Marcionite*.

But within a little while the Storm blew over, when *Valerian* was taken and made a Slave by the *Barbarians*, and *Gallienus* held the Sovereignty. For it pleas'd *Gallienus* to put a stop to these Prosecutions, to allow the Christians the free Exercise of their Religion, and to send out his Letters of Indulgence and Encouragement to the Bishops of the Church; in which regard this Emperor is highly commended by *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and the Equity of that Divine Providence celebrated, which had blasted the touring Hopes and ambitious Advances of *Macrianus*, and propitiously instated *Gallienus* both in the Right and Exercise of the Imperial Power.

Xystus still held the Chair of *Rome*. *Demetrius* succeeded *Fabius* in that of *Antioch*. *Firmilian* was Bishop of the *Cappadocian Casarea*, and of *Casarea* in *Palestine* successively, (after *Theotistus*) *Domnus* and *Theotecnus*, a Disciple of *Origen's*. The two Brothers, *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* had their respective Sees in *Pontus*. And after *Mazabanes*, *Hymenæus* was advanc'd to that of *Jerusalem*.

Yet

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Yet the Favour and good Effects of *Gallienus's* Dispensation were not so universal, but that at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, one *Marinus*, a Soldier, a Gentleman of Illustrious Birth and Ample Fortunes, was sacrific'd to the Dregs of *Valerian's* Frenzy. The occasion this. *Marinus* for his great Deserts and Services, was upon the Point of receiving a Military Honour and Promotion; when a certain Competitor, finding no other way nor hopes to carry it from him, acquainted the Judge that *Marinus* was incapacitated, as being a Christian. And the Judge putting the Question to him, *Marinus* assur'd him that such he was. The Judge then gave him three Hours time to weigh the Consequences, during which Reprieve, *Theotecnus*, the Bishop, led *Marinus* up to the Altar, and shewing him first his own Sword, and then the Books of the *New Testament*, recommended to his choice, which of the two he would accept. *Marinus* immediately laid his Hand upon the latter. So the Bishop bade him be resolute and depart in Peace, as he did soon after to Eternal Glory, having again asserted his Faith before the Tribunal with greater Ardency than ever. *Asturius*, a Christian of singular Courage, and a Senator of *Rome*, a Darling of both Emperors, well Born and Wealthy, having been present at the Execution, laid the Body of the Martyr upon his own Shoulders, carry'd him off, and interr'd him magnificently. This *Asturius*, when a Spectator, once upon a time, at a certain Annual Ceremony of the Heathens, (which was
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to throw the Carcass of a Victim into the Fountains that supply'd the River *Jordan*, the Devil having always gratify'd their Curiosity by causing it to disappear, stood forth in the Presence of them all, and by a Prayer to God, in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, brought back the Victim to the top of the Water, and there it floated; nor could the Devil repeat his Illusions in that place any more.

At *Casarea, Philippi* (where these Fountains rise) is now to be seen a Statue (suppos'd to be) of the Woman cur'd by *Christ* of an Issue of Blood, and opposite to it another of *Christ* himself: At the Basis of the latter there grows a Plant (no where else to be found) reaching up to the Border of *Christ's* Garment. The Plant is a present Remedy against all Diseases; and the Image, they say, an exact and genuin resemblance of *Christ's* Humanity; neither is this the only one still remaining; besides the several Effigies that are left of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and the ancient Throne of *St. James*, the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

No sooner was a Period put to the Persecution of *Valerian*, but *Dionysius* return'd to *Alexandria*; some time after Intestine Wars and Tumults arising there, and his Friends being detain'd from him by the Violence of a Publick Outrage, and quite confounded and distracted between opposite Interests, he took occasion to write Epistles to them from his Residence in *Alexandria*, expressing himself as if he were at a long distance off, and soon after in an Epistle to

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to *Hierax*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, he describes these Commotions at large, comparing them with the Plagues and Calamities which God sent upon the *Egyptians* by the Hand of *Moses*. Such numbers of the Inhabitants, he says, were destroy'd, that all the Survivors put together, (and reckoning from the Age of Fourteen to Fourscore) did not equal the number of as many as were formerly found from Forty to Threescore and ten. In the publick Uproar the *Christians* were not at all concern'd as Actors, but as Sufferers, beside the hard measure they met with from the contending Parties, they had, over and above, an equal Share in the Common Destruction and Loss. And these Confusions were follow'd by as terrible a Pestilence, which, though chiefly fatal to the Infidels, yet swept away large numbers of the Christians too, and the more by a great many, because the *latter* thought it their Duty to Visit, Attend, and Serve one another, and to look after and bury their Dead; and the Clergy and Laity, who by discharging these Offices, caught the Infection and died, were look'd upon as worthy the Name of *Martyrs*, while the *former* had none of them the Heart to run the Risque of assisting or coming near one another.

In the Reign of *Gallienus*, the Error of the Millenaries obtruded it self upon the Church, being reviv'd by *Nepos*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, affirming in his Book, (entituled, *A Confutation of the Allegorists*) That the Saints were certainly

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to have the Fruition of Corporal Pleasures at the end of the World, for the length of a thousand Years. Against this Assertion, *Dionysius* compos'd his Two Books *about the Promises*, and is so just and ingenuous to the Memory of *Nepos*, as to give him all the Advantages of his Character, as a sincere Believer, and an industrious Workman in the Vineyard, but highly Resents the ill Use which the Advocates of that Opinion made of the Book, especially, because they had the Confidence to Postpone, even the Sacred Canon to its Authority. He tells us further, That in the Province of *Arfinoe* (where his Doctrine had occasion'd lamentable Dissensions and Schisms) Publick Disputations and Consults had been held upon it, and that after a fair Discussion of all Arguments urg'd on either side, it was rejected and condemn'd, and even by *Coracius* himself, the Captain of the Faction.

In this Treatise of *Dionysius*, *Concerning the Promises*, he has given us his Opinion about the *Revelations*, of which, though some People, he says, did not stick to say, That it was the Work of *Cerinthus*, who made very great Account of the Pleasures of the Body, yet for his own part he readily and sincerely acquiesc'd in that General Tradition and Esteem, with which the Book had been receiv'd in the Church, asserting and proving, that the Sense of it is altogether Mystical and Sublime, and professing that he dares not attempt an Interpretation of it, and therefore that he Reads it with so much

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much the greater Veneration, firmly believing the Author to have been Divinely Inspired, and his Name *John*, tho' he doubts whether he were *St. John*, the Apostle, because *St. John* has no where mention'd his own Name, either in his Gospel or Epistles, as the Author of the *Revelations* has done. Beside, that there is all along an exact Affinity and Resemblance between the Gospel and First Epistle of *St. John*, in the Argument, Matter, and Expression. Thus the first Lines of his Gospel are almost the same with those of his First Epistle: *In the beginning was the Word,—— and the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his Glory, &c. That which we have heard, which we have seen with our Eyes, which we have looked upon, and our Hands have handled of the Word of Life, for the Life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, &c.* Then as to the Substance of them, they run Parallel to each other in the Doctrines and Notices of the *Light, the Truth, Grace, Joy, the Body and Blood of Christ, Condemnation, Remission of Sins, the Love of God to Man, the Duty of Brotherly Love; the Distinction of the Persons in the Holy Trinity, &c.* And so likewise as to the Stile and Manner of Expression. Whereas there is not the least Similitude or Coincidence of this kind between the Gospel or Epistle, and the *Revelations*. Again, as the former make no mention of the latter, so neither does the latter of either of the former, though *St. Paul* in his Epistles makes mention of the *Revelations*, to which he had been

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admitted; not to mention the difference between the one and other, in Point of Elegance and Argumentation. Nevertheless 'tis certain, the Author's Name was *John*, but whether that *John* (*Acts* 13.) whose Surname was *Mark*, (and yet he did not go into *Asia*, but return'd to *Jerusalem*) or the other of the two *Johns*, whose Sepulchres were found at *Ephesus*, (which *Dionysius* thinks the most probable) tho' his Expression and Stile were very different from that of the Apostle, or which of the many Holy Persons bearing that Name, should be the Author, does not pretend to determine.

Beside this Treatise, *Dionysius* wrote a great many other Epistolary Discourses, and particularly several against the *Sabellian* Heresy; another Work concerning Nature, and a Book about Temptation, and informs us in one of his Epistles to *Basilides*, Bishop of *Pentapolis*, that he had writ a Comment upon part of *Ecclesiastes*.

Xystus deceasing, who sat Eleven Years Bishop of *Rome*, the Chair was supply'd by *Dionysius*, Name-sake to the Bishop of *Alexandria*; and that of *Antioch*, after the Death of *Demetrianus*, by *Paulus Samosatenus*, a Wolf in a Covering of Wooll, as the Event made appear, when he came to assert his Heresy, that Christ was no more than another ordinary Man. This alarm'd all the Governors of the Church, and a very numerous Council of Prelates, Presbyters, and Deacons, met at *Antioch*, in which assisted

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assisted the most Illustrious Bishops, then flourishing, only the Great *Dionysius*, being detain'd by Infirmities and Age, sent his Opinion in Writing, and died soon after, in the Twelfth Year of *Gallienus*, having been Bishop of *Alexandria* Seventeen Years. The Merits of the Cause were examin'd with great Accuracy and Application, and not a Session pass'd without variety of Debates, and *Paul* from time to time, still made use of all the Fallacies and Equivocations imaginable to shroud his Blasphemy. But the last and deciding Council, (for many were held upon this occasion) consisting of an innumerable Assembly of Bishops, condemn'd *Paul's* Execrable and Impious Positions, and himself was excluded the Communion of all the Catholick Churches over the Face of the whole Earth. The Person more especially concern'd, and successful in Unwinding and Confuting the Subterfuges of *Paul*, was *Malchion*, (a Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*) a Man conspicuous for his Orthodoxy and Integrity, and who formerly had been chief Director in the *Schola Sophistica*, or *School of Disputation* there.

No sooner *Paul* receiv'd his Sentence, but the Council notify'd it by Synodical Epistles to *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Rome*, and to *Maximus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, (Successor to *Dionysius*) and to all the other Churches of the Christian World; wherein they give them to understand, that for the Suppression of so black a Heresy, they had call'd together the Bishops, far and near, to Council, that *Dionysius* of
K 2 *Alexan-*

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Alexandria had directed his Epistle relating to it, to the Church of *Antioch*, and not so much as mention'd the Name of *Paul*, as their Bishop; that *Firmilian* (who presided in two of the Councils) had twice condemn'd the Heresy, and that he was coming again to *Antioch* to pronounce Sentence against the Heretick, (having before deferr'd it upon the dissembled Assurances of *Paul* that he would Recant) but died by the way; that as to the Morals and Practices of the Deceiver, it appear'd he had made all his Fortunes by Fraud, Oppression, Sacrilege, and Simony; that he had brought no little Scandal upon the Church by his pompous Affectation of Popularity, and his ambitious assuming of Secular Honours, preferring the Name of a *State-Pensioner* to that of a *Bishop*, and erecting himself a Civil Tribunal in the place of his Episcopal Throne, that he malign'd the Memory of worthy Men departed, rioted in his own Commendations, concerted with some of his Presbyters that they should Blazon his Character from the Pulpit; and instead of the Hymns appointed to be Sung in Honour of *Christ*, order'd others to be Sung in Honour of himself; that in these he suffer'd himself to be stil'd *an Angel from Heaven*; that he had us'd a very suspicious (and by his Licence and Example, several of his Presbyters and Deacons a very foul) Familiarity with the *Sisters of a Vow'd Virginity*. That he had revived the Heresy of *Artemas*, and asserted, That *Jesus Christ* descended not from Heaven, but had
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his Original upon Earth; and that therefore they had thrust him out of the Communion of the Catholick Church, and constituted in his place, *Domnus*, the Son of *Demetrian*, *Paul's* Predecessor. *Paul* however kept the Keys and Possession of the Church, till such time as the Emperor, *Aurelian*, being petition'd, was pleas'd to Command and Force him to Retire. But though this Emperor, in this Instance, supported the Authority of the Church by exerting his own, yet soon after he was preparing to rend her with Persecution; when by the Divine Providence he was snatch'd out of the World, after a Reign of Six Years.

Probus was the next Emperor, and continued as long; then *Carus*, with his Two Sons, *Carinus* and *Numerian*; then *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, within less than Three Years, and some time after the Death of *Dionysius*, who had held the Chair of *Rome* Nine Years, and was succeeded by *Felix*.

About the same time started up the monstrous *Manichean* Heresy, so call'd from its Author *Manes*, who gave himself out to be sometimes *Christ*; at other times, the *Holy Ghost*; and in Mockery of our Saviour, chose him Twelve Apostles. His Heresy, which was a Rhapsody of all the old extinguish'd Heresies, took its Birth in *Persia*, made its way into the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and has a multitude of Followers at this very Day.

Felix sat Five Years Bishop of *Rome*, and was succeeded by *Eutychianus*, and (Ten Months

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after) *Eutychianus* by *Cains*, and he again Fifteen Years after by *Marcellinus*. At *Antioch*, to *Domnus Timaeus*, to *Timaeus* succeeded *Cyril*, among whose Presbyters was one *Dorotheus*, a very Learned Person, and critically vers'd in the Holy Scriptures: This *Dorotheus* was an Eunuch Born, which prov'd an occasion of his coming to the Emperor's Knowledge, and afterwards into his particular Esteem and Favour. To *Cyril* succeeded *Tyrannus*. In the Church of *Laodicea*, *Socrates* was succeeded by *Eusebius*, and *Eusebius* by *Anatolius*, both *Alexandrians*, and the latter the most Eminent Philosopher and Mathematician of his time. 'Tis related of him, that, when *Bruchium*, where he held the principal Post of Honour, was besieg'd by the *Romans*, and reduc'd to the Extremities of Famine, he privately suggested to *Eusebius*, who had a mighty Interest in the *Roman* General, and belong'd to another Part of the Town, which was in League and Amity with the *Romans*, that, if possible, he should prevail with the General to suffer all that deserted from the Besieg'd to be favourably entertain'd in that other part of the Town. Accordingly *Eusebius* petition'd, and obtain'd his Request, which so soon as *Anatolius* understood, with Consent of the Senate of *Alexandria*, he caus'd all the Inhabitants, whom he judg'd unfit for Service, to retire thither; and under the shelter of this Advantage, a great many others; more especially consulting the Safety of the *Christians*; and *Eusebius* took as much care to dispose and relieve

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lieve them as they arriv'd. *Anatolius* was no Voluminous Writer, yet those few Pieces of his which are left, afford us a very precious and noble Specimen of his Eloquence and great Learning, particularly his Book of *Paschal Canons*, where he sets out a nice *Rationale* about the time of Celebrating *Easter*, according to the Astronomical Rules and Computations current among the *Egyptians*, the *Grecians*, the *Romans*, the *Jews*; besides which, and several Books upon *Theological Arguments*, we have also his *Ten Books of Arithmetick*. Before his Election at *Laodicea*, this *Anatolius* had been Ordain'd by *Theotecnus*, Bishop of *Casarea in Palestine*, his Colleague and Coadjutor in that See, and was once design'd his Successor. After *Anatolius* follow'd *Stephanus*, an incomparable Philosopher and Humanist, but a weak and half-spirited Christian, as was too evident by his Behaviour in the Persecution. To him, and very seasonably, succeeded *Theodotus*, a Pious, Benevolent, Charitable Man, and an Extraordinary Physician as well as Divine. After *Theotecnus*, *Agapius* was prefer'd to the Bishoprick of *Casarea in Palestine*, a very Bountiful and Vigilant Pastor. *Pamphilus*, the Martyr, was one of his Presbyters, of whose Excellent Learning, Exemplary Life, Variety of Sufferings, and Final Martyrdom, I have given a distinct Account in a Work by it self. There were likewise then Eminent, and have flourish'd to this Day, *Picrius*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, (a very mortify'd and contemplative Man, and an admira-

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ble Preacher) and *Meletius*, an extraordinary Scholar, no less Religious and Virtuous than Learned, for his Eloquence, surnamed *The Attick Honey-comb*. In the Chair of *Jerusalem*, *Hymeneus* was succeeded by *Zabdas*, and *Zabdas* by *Hermon*. In that of *Alexandria*, *Maximus*, when he had held it Eighteen Years, was succeeded by *Theonas*; under whom *Achillas*, a Presbyter of that Church, an accomplish'd and severe Practicer, as well as Professr of the best Philosophy, exercis'd the Function of a Publick Instructor and Catechist. *Theonas* govern'd his Church Nineteen Years, after whom *Peter* took the Charge on him, and held it Twelve Years. During the Nine last, because it was a Season of Persecution, he led a Life of Mortification and Ascetical Discipline, but not so as to render himself e'er the less Useful, and at last he died a Martyr. Thus descends the Order of Episcopal Succession in the respective Churches abovemention'd, down to the Year of *Christ*, 305.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK VIII.

THE General and Happy Reception which Christianity by this time had obtain'd in the World, among *Greeks, Barbarians*, and all the Nations under Heaven, cannot be represented, and is almost incredible. The Emperors themselves had not a little countenanc'd the Holy Profession by frankly indulging their Relations and Dependents in it, by preferring Christians to some of the best Posts of Honour and Power, and by placing such Persons in several other Offices of Trust and Command, as behav'd themselves affectionately and respectfully to the Christians, more especially the Bishops, whose Flocks were now become so considerable

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considerable and numerous, that every City had many very magnificent and spacious Churches within it, crowded all with Christians. But the more their Numbers encreas'd, the more their Manners degenerated, and warp'd from the first Simplicity and Purity, into fraudulent and malicious Practices, to supplant one another, Evil-surmizings, Animosities, Detraction, Ambition, Vehemence, and Outrage, not to mention those Disputes and Emulations which arose among the Church Governors themselves. Now therefore solicited by these Provocations the Justice of God was pleas'd to visit a disobedient and ungrateful People, and to Arm it self with the Weapons and Artillery of Blasphemers, who laid the Sacred Edifices level with the Ground, made publick Bonfires of all the Bibles they could seize upon, Dispers'd, Apprehended, Abus'd, Tortur'd, and put to Death many of the Holy Fathers of the Church. destroy'd the Persons and Estates of Multitudes of Christians, and (which was yet worse) the Faith, Integrity, and Consciences of not a few.

In the Intervals between the Persecutions of *Decius*, *Valerian*, and *Domitian*, had been taken away, the Lives of, here and there, a *Christian*, particularly among the Soldiery, and the Honours and Commissions of all that were in the Army, it being declar'd the Emperor's Pleasure, That, unless they would Renounce Christianity, they should continue no longer in his Service. But in the Nineteenth Year of *Dio-*
clesian,

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clesian, in the Month of *March*, upon the Vigil of *Easter*, came abroad the Imperial Edicts for General Persecution of the Christians, commanding the Churches to be demolish'd, the Bibles burnt, all Christians in Publick Offices disgrac'd, and those of a Private Condition disenfranchiz'd; and soon after, fresh Edicts were issued out, which order'd that the Bishops should be laid in Chains, and all other Christians oblig'd to do Sacrifice at their utmost Peril.

A great number of our Bishops persever'd with all sprightness to the very last Moment, under the sharpest Anguish of the Tortures; while others came presently to Terms. There was no Method, no Instrument of Death or Barbarity, as Scourges, Pincers, Drag-hooks, and the like, but what was employ'd against the Christians. They were half kill'd, and then thrown to Expire upon the Ground; many of them among the Carcasses of those whom the Heathens pretended to have sacrific'd; for their Policy had a double Edge, either to force the Christians to do Sacrifice, or, if they could not get the better, to set them out, at least, for Sacrificers.

At *Nicomedia*, the Imperial Edict was no sooner stuck up, but a zealous Christian of that place, and a Person of the best Condition and Quality, came and Tore it down in the Face of the City, (where *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* then resided) and to the last Moment sustain'd, without the least Discomposure, the first Sallies
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of their Fury, which were consequently the fiercest. Even, the Emperor's Court yielded a plenteous Harvest of Martyrs, particularly the Noble *Dorotheus*, and several others, all *Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber*. *Peter*, one of the number, (for the present Opportunity will not suffice to give the History of them all) being requir'd in the Presence of the Emperors now mention'd, to do Sacrifice, and absolutely refusing, was Stript to the Skin, born up on high, his Body flay'd with Scourges to the very Bone, and Salt and *Vinegar* pour'd and rubb'd into the Wounds; then he was laid out upon a Grid-Iron, and broil'd over a gentle Fire, and after some time yielded up the Ghost, asserting resolutely his Faith to the last Moment of his Life. *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, and several others, endur'd a Fight of Afflictions no less terrible; *Anthimus*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, was Beheaded; at the same time suffer'd a whole Army of Martyrs together, Men, Women, and Children, a Fire having accidentally broke out in the Palace Royal, which 'twas pretended, the Christians had kindled. Both Men and Women, in great Numbers at once, readily leapt into the Flames that were prepar'd for them; others in abundance were bound Hand and Foot, and flung into the Sea, as were also the Bodies of the Martyrs that had been Officers and Domestics of the Court, the Persecutors imagining that Divine Honours would be paid them, if they should let them be buried. Some time after, when there came
News

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News of a Rebellion (rais'd by the Heathens) in *Armenia* and *Syria*, Orders were issued out for the Imprisonment of all the Bishops, and the Goals were so crouded with Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Inferior Church-Officers, that no room was to be found for the Common Criminals and Malefactors. And (upon the Publication of *the Resolutions for Torturing*) the Numbers of those who suffer'd to the Death in *Africa*, *Mauritania*, *Thebais*, *Egypt*, and all the Provinces and Cities of the Empire, were so great, as almost to exceed those of Arithmetick. In *Palestine*, and in the City of *Tyre*, myself was a Spectator of the Tortures which my blessed Brethren endur'd, of their impregnable Constancy and Patience, and of the mighty Supports which they receiv'd from the Divine Mercy, while an extraordinary Presence of the Holy Spirit was manifested in them, and even the living Instruments of Execution, the Lions, the Leopards, the Wild Boars, the Bulls, were so restrain'd and over-rul'd at the Pleasure of their Creator, that although they were goaded with Red-hot Irons, and the Infidels forc'd the Holy Confessors to provoke and urge them; either they would not so much as make Approaches to their Bodies, or Retreat as soon as they came on, Sweating, Trembling, and Bellowing, while several of the Heathens coming in their way, were Gor'd and Tost by the Bulls, and carry'd off for Dead. In the Conclusion, when the Persecutors had often try'd in vain, and many of them
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to their cost, to set the Wild Beasts upon the Martyrs, they put them to the Sword, and flung their Carcasses into the Sea. *Procopius*, upon his Examination, having with a ready Zeal asserted the Unity of God, and refus'd to pay Divine Honours to the Emperors, was immediately Beheaded; so were *Alpheus* and *Zacchaeus*, when in Contempt of Scourging, Pincers, Racks, and every other Cruelty, they had stedfastly confess'd their Faith in one God, and in one Lord *Jesus Christ*. At the same time *Romanus*, a Deacon and Exorcist of the Church of *Casarea*, being at *Antioch*, where he beheld the Christians, in whole Multitudes together, frequenting and performing the Rights of Heathen Sacrifice, rebuk'd and censur'd them aloud, for which he was seiz'd, and sentenc'd to the Flames, but discovering an eager Satisfaction at the Stake, and in the Presence of the Emperor, the Sentence was alter'd to that of losing his Tongue, so he presently thrust it out of his Mouth, for the Executioner to cut it off. Afterwards he was thrown into a Dungeon, and there emaciated, rack'd, and strangled. *Timotheus* of *Gaza*, having first disappointed all other Essays of their Fury, was parch'd over a glowing Fire; and afterwards with *Agapius* and *Thecla*, who had also given very signal Proofs of their Constancy, sentenc'd to the Wild Beasts. Upon the Publick Celebration of a Popular Solemnity, *Timolaus* of *Pontus*, *Dionysius* of *Tripolis*, *Romulus* a Sub-Deacon of the Church of *Diospolis*, *Pausis* and *Alexander*,

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Alexander, (*Egyptians*.) and another *Alexander* from *Gaza*, of their own free purpose, had their Hands bound behind them, and run up, in a Body, to *Urbanus* the Prefect, as he was going to the Amphitheatre, declaring themselves Christians, to the great Astonishment of the Prefect, who committed them to Prison, and within a few Days after, their number increasing to Eight by the Accession of another *Agapius*, who had formerly endur'd the Torture, and of another *Dionysius*, who had supply'd them with the Necessaries of Life, they were all on the same Day Beheaded in *Cæsarea*. *Apphianus*, Born in *Lycia*, descended of a very Honourable Family, and train'd up to Philosophical Studies at *Berytus*, (where he led a Life of severe and strict Sobriety, and preserv'd his Virtue in spite of all Sollicitations, either from his Fellow-Pupils, or his own Constitution) before he had yet attain'd to the Twentieth Year of his Age clandestinely, and without making the least Provision for keeping Soul and Body together, left his Father and Relations, their dissolute and irregular way of Life giving great Disturbance and Scandal to his Pious Disposition and Religious Resolutions, and, as conducted by the Direction of the Holy Spirit, came directly to *Cæsarea*. There it so fell out, that I had the Commission of instructing him in the Elements of the Christian Religion, and of Expounding the Holy Scriptures to him; and there, after he had pass'd some time in the Exercise of Ascetical Duties, inflam'd
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with a Divine Ardour, and absolutely unaffected with the Terror and Consternation which the Proceedings of the Persecutors had occasion'd in that place, he went up calmly and unconcernedly to the Prefect, who was then upon the point of performing a Libation, and interrupting the Ceremony, took him by the Hand, and soberly reason'd the Case with him, dissuading him from the Practice, and shewing him the grossness of the Absurdity. Upon this he was violently seiz'd by the Soldiers, abus'd and beaten, and thrown into a Dungeon, where for Four and twenty Hours he was kept upon the Torture, and afterwards, when he protested over and over against the Proposal of doing Sacrifice, they Slash'd and Scarify'd his Body to the Bone, and batter'd his Face and Neck with Mallets of Lead. Then his Feet were wrapt with Flax soak'd in Oyl, which being set on Fire, scorch'd him so deep, that his very Marrow came dripping out of his Legs. But the Martyr defied the force of all these, or any other Torments they could expose him to; so he was again laid in Chains, and three Days after, having just Life enough left to declare his Faith, he was thrown into the Sea, when presently both Sea and Sky were convulsed with an Earthquake and Tempest, that rock'd all the Buildings in *Casarea*, and the dead Body of the Martyr emerging back on a sudden to the Surface of the Waves, was floated a Shoar to the place where he had suffer'd. Of this all the People of *Casarea* were Eye-witnesses. In the

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the City of *Tyre*, *Ulpian*, a Youth, after he had been mangled and batter'd from Head to Foot, was sown up in a Leathern Bag with a Dog and an Adder, and thrown into the Sea. Soon after *Aedesius*, the Brother of *Apphian*, having often already sustain'd the Torture, and been condemn'd to the Slavery of the Mines, as he beheld at *Alexandria*, how the Judge insulted the Christians of the greatest Gravity and Merit, and deliver'd over the Chast and Devoted Virgins to the Common Bawds and Panders of the Place, conceiv'd such a Zeal and Indignation at it, as even to Insult and Affront the Judge, upon which he was tortur'd without Mercy, and then thrown into the Sea. At *Cæsarea*, when the Tyrant *Maximin* was present at the Theatrical Exercises, *Agapius*, who before had been Sentenc'd to the Wild Beasts, and brought out thrice with the Common Malefactors to the Place of Execution, but as often remanded, was now presented upon the Spot, and a Russian that had Murder'd his Master, led in with him. The Murderer prostrated himself for Mercy, and was immediately acquitted, the Multitude magnifying the Grace and Goodness of his Imperial Majesty with Shouts and Acclamations. Then the Usurper call'd *Agapius* to him, and commanded him to Renounce his Faith. *Agapius* told him aloud, *That he was no Criminal, but a Servant of the one True God, whom he would never deny, and that he was prepar'd to meet, and embrace any the most exquisite Severities with Resolution and Pleasure.* So a She-

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with a Divine Ardour, and absolutely unaffected with the Terror and Consternation which the Proceedings of the Persecutors had occasion'd in that place, he went up calmly and unconcernedly to the Prefect, who was then upon the point of performing a Libation, and interrupting the Ceremony, took him by the Hand, and soberly reason'd the Case with him, dissuading him from the Practice, and shewing him the grossness of the Absurdity. Upon this he was violently seiz'd by the Soldiers, abus'd and beaten, and thrown into a Dungeon, where for Four and twenty Hours he was kept upon the Torture, and afterwards, when he protested over and over against the Proposal of doing Sacrifice, they Slash'd and Scarify'd his Body to the Bone, and batter'd his Face and Neck with Mallets of Lead. Then his Feet were wrapt with Flax soak'd in Oyl, which being set on Fire, scorch'd him so deep, that his very Marrow came dripping out of his Legs. But the Martyr defied the force of all these, or any other Torments they could expose him to; so he was again laid in Chains, and three Days after, having just Life enough left to declare his Faith, he was thrown into the Sea, when presently both Sea and Sky were convulsed with an Earthquake and Tempest, that rock'd all the Buildings in *Cesarea*, and the dead Body of the Martyr emerging back on a sudden to the Surface of the Waves, was floated a Shoar to the place where he had suffer'd. Of this all the People of *Cesarea* were Eye-witnesses. In the

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the City of *Tyre*, *Ulpian*, a Youth, after he had been mangled and batter'd from Head to Foot, was sown up in a Leathern Bag with a Dog and an Adder, and thrown into the Sea. Soon after *Aedesius*, the Brother of *Apphian*, having often already sustain'd the Torture, and been condemn'd to the Slavery of the Mines, as he beheld at *Alexandria*, how the Judge insulted the Christians of the greatest Gravity and Merit, and deliver'd over the Chast and Devoted Virgins to the Common Bawds and Panders of the Place, conceiv'd such a Zeal and Indignation at it, as even to Insult and Affront the Judge, upon which he was tortur'd without Mercy, and then thrown into the Sea. At *Cæsarea*, when the Tyrant *Maximin* was present at the Theatrical Exercises, *Agapius*, who before had been Sentenc'd to the Wild Beasts, and brought out thrice with the Common Malefactors to the Place of Execution, but as often remanded, was now presented upon the Spot, and a Russian that had Murder'd his Master, led in with him. The Murderer prostrated himself for Mercy, and was immediately acquitted, the Multitude magnifying the Grace and Goodness of his Imperial Majesty with Shouts and Acclamations. Then the Usurper call'd *Agapius* to him, and commanded him to Renounce his Faith. *Agapius* told him aloud, *That he was no Criminal, but a Servant of the one True God, whom he would never deny, and that he was prepar'd to meet and embrace any the most exquisite Severities with Resolution and Pleasure.* So a She-

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Bear being let loose upon him, *Agapius* run to receive her, and after she had done her part in tearing him, he was carried off again to the Dungeon, and the next Day tost into the Sea. *Theodosia*, a Christian Virgin, about Eighteen Years of Age, addressing her self to the Confessors, as they stood before the Tribunal, desiring their Prayers, was condemn'd by the Prefect to the Torture, and when the Flesh of her Sides and Breasts had been wrought off with Pincers, she was Sentenc'd to the Sea, having all the while preserv'd in her Looks a very visible Alacrity and Satisfaction. The rest of the Confessors were doom'd to the Mines, whither *Silvanus*, then a Presbyter and Confessor, but afterwards a Bishop and a Martyr, soon follow'd them, it being withal made a part of the Sentence that they should be crippled with Searing-Irons. *Dominus*, an Old and a Noted Confessor, was condemn'd to the Faggot. *Auxentius*, a Reverend Old Man, was expos'd to the Wild Beasts. Several of the younger Sort were castrated and sent to the Mines: Others tortur'd and then imprison'd; among these my dear Friend *Pamphilus*, who chearfully underwent the Laceration of the Pincers, with several other Tortures, and was afterwards committed to Prison, so soon as he had baffled and confounded the Prefect *Urbanus*, whom the Justice of God did yet more effectually Punish, when *Maximin*, whose Creature and Confident *Urbanus* had always been, most unexpectedly disgrac'd, cashier'd, and in the Conclusion, cut him

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him off. Whereupon *Firmilian* succeeded in his barbarous Employment, and it seems was as well qualify'd as his Predecessor, for he crippled an hundred Families together with Searing-Irons, (Men, Women, and Children, unanimously retaining their Faith) and caus'd the Right Eye of every one of them to be pull'd out, and the Wound to be cauteriz'd, and then sent them to Labour in the Mines. The same Treatment, but with the Addition of Emaciating and Scourging, was the Lot of three Natives of *Palestine*, because they refus'd to play the Gladiator upon one another. With these there suffer'd certain Inhabitants of *Casarea*, and others of *Gaza*, who for Assembling to hear the Holy Scriptures read, were either crippled, or else their Ribs uncover'd. A Woman of this Company being threaten'd with a Rape, inveigh'd very sharply against the Tyrant-Persecutor and his Officers, for which she was Scourg'd, Rack'd, and Pincer'd. *Valentina*, a Vow'd Virgin, as was also the former, could no longer restrain her self at the sight of the others Sufferings, but cry'd out, *How long will you Torment my poor Sister?* So she was presently seiz'd, and commanded to Sacrifice, and away they dragg'd her to the Altar, against which she spurn'd and stamp'd, till she had tumbled it down, and the Incense that was upon it. At this the Judge was all in a Rage, gave in Order that she should be Pincer'd worse than ever any Body yet had been, which accordingly was done, and then her Sister and

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she were Burnt together. One *Paul* was in the same Instant under the Hands of an Executioner, and desir'd only a Reprieve for a few Moments, which when granted, he bestow'd in a publick Intercession for the Peace of the Holy Catholick Church, for the Conversion of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, for the Conversion of the *Gentiles*, more especially of all then present, for the Prosperity of their Imperial Majesties, and for the Mercy of God towards his Judge and Executioner. So soon as he had ended his Prayer (which drew Tears from the Eyes of the Spectators) he stretch'd out his Neck for the Blow, and his Head was sever'd from his Body. Some time after this, an hundred and thirty *Egyptian* Confessors were serv'd in the same sort, as those from *Thebais* above-mention'd.

And now, when we begun to have some little appearance of a Truce and Relaxation, it seems it was nothing but a breathing Time for the Persecutors, the Edicts and Orders of the Usurper being on a sudden repeated and reinforced, and no Methods omitted either to Trepan or Compel us. But the Power and Artifice of the Adversary were too weak to vie with those comfortable and corroborating Influences, which the Blessed *Jesus* shed into the Hearts of his faithful Followers, whose Piety and Courage were so lively, that they had not the Patience to stay till the Inquisitors call'd them to Examination, but seiz'd the first publick Opportunity they could of declaring what they were.

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were. *Zebinas*, *Germanus*, and *Antoninus*, a Presbyter, press'd in upon the Prefect, as he was Sacrificing, openly importuning him to Renounce his Idols, and Embrace the Belief of the one True God, for which freedom and the generous Professions they made of their Faith in their Saviour, they lost their Heads upon the Spot. The same Day *Ennathas*, a Virgin, (by Order of one *Maxys*, a Tribune, of a scandalous Life, and unauthoriz'd to Act as Judge) was most abusively treated, Lash'd, led Naked through the Streets of *Casarea*, and by the Sentence of the Prefect, (before whom she stedfastly persisted in the Profession of her Faith) consum'd at a Stake. Nay, so Savage was the Rage and Rancour of the Prefect, that he would not allow the Bodies to be put into the Ground, but they must be left expos'd for the Birds and Beasts of Prey, and Centinels plac'd to prevent the Removal of them. And as well within as without the City, Limbs, Guts, Bones, lay scatter'd up and down, to the great Offence of the Heathen Inhabitants themselves, who many of them declar'd their Abhorrence of such surprizing and unparallel'd Inhumanity; while the very Stones and Walls of the Publick Edifices express'd their Resentment by a most unaccountable and miraculous *Phenomenon*; for though the Season was remarkably Calm, Serene, and Dry, yet Drops of Moisture, as it had been from weeping Eyes, run trickling down every where upon the Buildings, which the People themselves interpreted a Re-

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buke from Heaven to the harden'd and unrelenting Authors of our Calamity. Some of my Readers perhaps will imagine this an idle and superstitious Tale. But as many as are willing to be determin'd by Authority of Eye-Witnesses, and other creditable Testimonies, will entertain better thoughts of it.

Shortly after, certain *Egyptians*, that had Ministred to the Occasions of the Confessors in *Cilicia*, receiv'd the same Sentence with those Confessors, which was loss of Eyes and Crippling; three of them (*Ares*, *Probus*, and *Elias*) were put to Death, the two last Beheaded, the first Burnt. *Petrus Aprelasmus*, a Youth of an *Ascetick* Life, was also committed to the Flames, the Judge, and all the Court, having to no purpose earnestly besought him to consider how many happy Years such a vigorous young Man had to live in the World, if he pleas'd. At the same Stake died *Asclepius*, a Bishop among the *Marcionites*, most unhappy in a Zeal not according to Knowledge.

We now arrive at the History of *Pamphilus's* Martyrdom, whose Person I have always most entirely lov'd, and whose Memory I shall ever Honour. He was the only one of Twelve Confessors, that had the Authority of a Presbyter, a strict Man in his Religion and Virtue, wean'd from the Satisfactions and Grandeur of the World, Fortunate and Indefatigable at his Exercises of Learning, more especially in the Study of the Holy Scriptures, Benevolent and Charitable to the very utmost of his Power; not
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here to enlarge further upon a Character which I have already made the Subject of a separate Performance. *Valens*, another of the Twelve, was a Deacon, crown'd with Gray Hairs, and so conversant in the Scriptures, that he could Repeat them all *Memoriter*. *Paul* of *Jamna* was a Third, act'd by a Warm but Holy Zeal, and had formerly suffer'd the Torture of the Searing-Irons. These Three had already lain Two Years in Prison, and there probably might have continu'd longer, but that a Second Company of *Egyptian* Christians were apprehended upon their Return from *Cilicia*, whither they took a Journey to visit the Confessors. These, being Five in number, upon their Examination and Profession of their Faith, were committed to Prison; and the next Day with *Pamphilus*, *Valens*, and *Paul*, were brought forth again before the Judge. The Five *Egyptians*, who call'd themselves, each by a Prophetick Name, *Elias*, *Jeremiah*, *Isaiah*, *Samuel*, and *Daniel*, were put to as many, and as terrible Tortures as the Wit of the Prefect could find for them. Then the First being ask'd his Name, answer'd him, he was *Elias*, which sounding new to the Prefect, he demanded his *Country*. *Elias* told him he was a Citizen of *Jerusalem*, meaning that which is above. At this the Prefect was again vext and bewilder'd, and so order'd him to the Rack, and during the Execution, inquir'd what and where this *Jerusalem* was. The Martyr told him, It lay toward the *East* and Sun-rising, and that none but the Servants

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of the True God belong'd to it. Now, then the Prefect was more impatient than ever to learn the Situation of this *New Jerusalem*, fancying that the Christians had form'd a Design of Erecting a Community and Fortifications in Defiance to the Power of his Master, and therefore he try'd him with a fresh Process of Torture. But still *Elias* abides by the Sacred Allegory, and at last is Sentenc'd to lose his Head; as were likewise the other Four, having endur'd the same Tortures as the former. Then 'twas demanded of *Pamphilus*, *Valens*, and *Paul*, whether they would comply yet with his Majesty's Will, which refusing, they were deliver'd over to the Headsman without further Torture, the Prefect knowing them too well to suppose that Experiment would answer his ends upon them. The next who gave him Disturbance was a Youth, nam'd *Porphyry*, Educated under *Pamphilus*, and a Member of his Family. *Porphyry* requested that the Bodies might be Buried, at which the Prefect falling into a Rage, examin'd him, and requir'd him to do Sacrifice. *Porphyry* declar'd himself a Christian, and that he would never pay Obedience to such a Command. So he was scoop'd to the very Bone, ript to the Bowels, and then Sentenc'd to the Stake, to which he pass'd with a wonderful Satisfaction and Assurance, wrapt in his Philosophical *Pallium*, and communicating his Directions and Counsels to his Friends that attended him. So soon as he was got near enough to the Flames, he suck'd them greedily

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greedily into his Mouth, and all the while he was Burning, invok'd the Name of his Saviour. *Seleucus* soon overtook him, he was a very Robust and Comely Person, and had formerly held an honourable Commission in the Army, but resign'd it upon taking a Resolution to employ the whole of his time in serving and assisting the Poor and Helpless. At the beginning of the Persecution he had undergone the Torture of the Scourge. The occasion of his Martyrdom, was his carrying the news of *Porphyry's* Sufferings to *Pamphilus*, (not yet Executed) and his Saluting one of the Martyrs with a Kiss. Next, *Theodulus*, Devout, and of a very great Age, a Domestick of the Prefects, and highly esteem'd by him for the many faithful Services and good Offices he had done him, by his resolute Behaviour and Answers put his Patron out of all Patience, so in an instant the Sentence of Crucifixion was pass'd upon him. *Julian* made the Twelfth of the Number, a Man of singular Piety, Probity, and Courage, and under extraordinary Influences of the Blessed Spirit. Before he was come up to the Stage of Examination, receiving Intelligence that the other Martyrs were in the midst of their Conflict, he sprung on as fast as he could, and at his arrival beholding their dead Bodies upon the Ground, eagerly and joyfully embrac'd them one after another, which he had no sooner done but he was brought before the Prefect, and Sentenc'd to be Burnt. Four Days and Nights the Bodies lay

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lay uncover'd upon the Ground for the Birds and Beasts of Prey, but neither the one nor the other came near them, and Providence so order'd it, that they were all decently Interr'd. Some time after, *Adrianus* and *Eubulus* coming to *Cæsarea*, with a purpose of visiting the Confessors, were Apprehended and Examined, and (having asserted their Faith, and undergone the Torture of the Pincers) were Torne by Wild Beasts, and then Beheaded; as (in Process of time) was the Prefect *Firmillian* himself, and some others his Accomplices, the Almighty giving Evidences of his Justice in the fall of his Enemies, as the Power of his Grace had shin'd forth in the Death of his Martyrs.

And here I might set before my Reader, a View of those Corruptions and Schisms, which, while the Persecution was devouring the Church, bred in her own Bowels, as if she could not suffer enough from the Tyranny and Madness of an Usurper, unless her Sorrows and Provocations were aggravated by the Animosities and Ambition of some of her own Governors, who rendering themselves unworthy of so Sublime an Authority and Character, were many of them, (as God permitted) brought under the Yoak of a miserable Bondage, and consign'd to the wretched Offices of Grooms and Camel-drivers. But this as being a most unacceptable Subject, I shall leave to return to our Account of the Martyrs, which tends much more to the Honour of our Holy Profession, as well as our own Improvement.

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The Persecution had now lasted near upon Seven Years, when a short Respit of Connivence interven'd, till the Prefect, a Libertine, and a very cruel Man, sent malicious Complaints of us, the Year following, to the Tyrant; and then came down the *Procurator of the Mines*, who ranging the Confessors into separate Companies, order'd away some to *Cyprus*, and others to *Libanus*; the rest were dispers'd in *Palestine*, and made Slaves. Only Four, *Peleus*, *Nilus*, *Patermuthius*, and a Presbyter, he sent to the General of the Forces that were in *Palestine*, by whose Order, upon refusing to Abjure their Christianity, they were Burnt. Those Confessors, who were not in a Condition to Work by reason of their Age or Infirmities of Body, had a peculiar Place of Residence assign'd them: The Chief of them was *Silvanus*, (to be distinguish'd from him of *Gaza*) a most worthy Bishop, upon whom the Persecutors had taken all Opportunities of indulging their Malice from the very beginning of the Persecution. He had a great many Christians of *Egypt* to bear him Company; and among the rest, one *John*, whose Eyes had been punch'd out of his Head before, but yet (when himself and his Fellow-sufferers were crippled with burning Irons) the Inquisitors were not satisfy'd till they had fear'd the Cavities. This Excellent Person had a prodigious Memory, and was able to Repeat without Book all Parts of the Holy Scriptures, as I my self can attest, for I have often been present when he
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has pronounc'd the Lessons at Divine Service, as exactly and easily, as if he had Read them. Beside these two, there were of the same Company Thirty seven more, who by exercising the Publick Duties of Worship and Discipline, in a little time so provok'd the Prefect, that he Beheaded all the Thirty nine at one Execution. In *Egypt*, Men, Women, and Children innumerable, stedfastly professing their Faith and Trust in their Saviour, endur'd the Scourge, the Rack, the Pincers, and every other Torture, were Burnt, Drown'd, Beheaded, Famish'd, Crucify'd, some in the usual manner, others with their Heads downwards, and left to hang Starving upon the Cross. In *Thebais* ragged, sharp Conchs were us'd instead of Pincers; the Women were hung high with their Heads downward, and one Leg ty'd behind; others were corded up fast to Trunks or Arms of Trees, and others torn a sunder between the Boughs hawl'd together, and then let loose again. Scarce a Day past, for several Years, but a Body of Christians were tortur'd and destroy'd; and as soon as one Company had receiv'd their Sentence, another crowded up to the Tribunal to declare themselves, and afterwards run exulting and rejoicing to their Execution, and under the very keenest Extremities of Torture, and the last Agonies of Death, sung Psalms and Songs of Praise to their Creator; insomuch that there return'd a frequent Necessity, for a fresh Supply, both of Executioners and their Weapons

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pons (to which I my self was Eye-witness). Among those, who counted as Dung all worldly Pre eminences and Advantages, (whether of Power, as Publick Officers, or of Esteem and Reputation, as Learned Men and Philosophers) that they might gain Christ by asserting the Faith, was *Philoromus*, the Emperor's Receiver and Treasurer at *Alexandria*; and *Phileas*, Bishop of *Thumis*, who had formerly held the best Places, and born the prime Honours among his Country-men, and had ever acquitted himself with great Applause. Their Relations, their Friends, and their Judge, begg'd of them to have a prudential Regard, if not to their own Persons, at least to their Wives and Children, but neither could Menaces, Persuasions, nor Contumelies, at all sway them, and so they were both Beheaded; the latter having left us a Monitory Epistle, which he wrote away to his Church immediately before his Martyrdom, and wherein he sets before them the Fortitude and Constancy of their Brethren at *Alexandria*, and the barbarous Methods of Execution practis'd upon them, that they were bruise'd with Clubs, and scourg'd with Rods, Thongs, and Ropes; corded up by the Waiste, rack'd and torn with Pincers from Head to Foot; some hung up by one Hand, some planted Face to Face with their Feet off the Ground, and their Bodies undertruss'd with Chains, in which manner they were lodg'd, perhaps a whole Day before they died, and then were tumbled and dragg'd along
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the Pavement, while others lay with their Bodies upon the Ground all wounded and raw, and their Legs bent backward, and distended to the very utmost width; others were after Torturing thrown aside, and left to make the best of a miserable, agonizing Carcass, of these died some out-right, others not till they had lain in the Dungeon for several Days after, and others again recovering upon their further refusal to do Sacrifice, were dispatch'd out of the way. In *Phrygia* the Soldiers set Fire to a whole City at once, all the Inhabitants professing themselves Christians, from the meanest to the mightiest: In this Conflagration fell *Adanctus*, who had always approv'd himself a truly Pious Christian, and a magnanimous Confessor; he came of a very Illustrious Family, and was one of the Emperor's Prime Ministers. In *Arabia*, they Brain'd the Christians. In *Cappadocia*, their Legs were broke in Pieces. In *Mesopotamia*, they were hung with their Heads downward and suffocated over Charcoal. At *Alexandria*, there was nothing to be done without Mutilations and Mangling. At *Antioch* they were broil'd over gentle Fires; Others thrust their Hands into the Flames, rather than they should touch the Libations; Others, when the Inquisitors came on to apprehend them, threw themselves down from the Tops of Houses. A certain Matron, a truly Christian Heroine, Rich and Honourable, and happy in two Maiden Daughters, Young and Beautiful, being seiz'd by the Soldiers, and concluding

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concluding they would offer Violence to her Children's Chastity, and not omit any other abominable Methods, by which they might hope to force them and her self to do Sacrifice, took an opportunity (and the two Virgins with her) to Drown her self in a River. Two other Virgin Sisters, of good Birth and Fortune, of a fervent Piety, a severe Virtue, and a lovely Form, at the Command of the Persecutors jump'd into the Sea. In *Pontus*, sharp Spikes were run up under the Nails of the Christians, and along their Fingers; scalding Lead was pour'd upon their Bodies, and horrid Applications were us'd to Torment their Bowels and Privy-parts, till at last, when the Prefects and Judges, who all along emulated and vy'd against one another in the Contrivance of their Cruelties, had tir'd out their Inventions and their Officers too, they promis'd us that now they would be better'd natur'd and more merciful, and we should find that neither the Emperors nor themselves bore us the least ill Will, or meant us any Harm, of which Multitudes of the Christians were soon convinc'd, when they had their Eyes put out, or else were Crippled, or sent Slaves to the Mines, not to mention a thousand other Tokens of their Tenderness. But still the Vehemence of this fiery Opposition serv'd only, more and more, every Day, to confirm and enhaunce the Credit both of the Christian Religion, and of its invincible Votaries.

Among

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Among the Prelates and Pastors that suffer'd, were *Lucian*, a very Learned and Religious Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*; (that had pleaded the Cause of Christianity before the Emperor himself) *Tyrannio*, Bishop of *Tyre*, tortur'd in the first place, and then drown'd; *Zenobius*, a Presbyter in *Sidon*, who died under the Torture of the Pincers; *Silvanus*, Bishop of *Emisa*, was thrown to the Wild Beasts; *Silvanus*, Bishop of *Gaza*, very Old and Decrepit, was Beheaded in the Mines, and with him Thirty nine Christians besides. At *Alexandria* suffer'd with *Peter*, the Venerable Bishop of that City, *Faustus*, *Dius*, and *Ammonius*, his Presbyters. Add to these, *Hesychius*, *Pachuminus*, *Theodorus*, with several other *Egyptian* Bishops, and a multitude of Ecclesiasticks. But now to turn our Eyes back a little.

The flourishing Estate of the Empire, and the Grandeur and Felicity of the Emperors, before these Counsels of Violence were taken, passes the Power of Description it self. But the face of Affairs most remarkably vary'd for the worse, when the Emperor *Dioclesian* falling under a most untoward Indisposition of Body, resign'd, and with him his Colleague, *Maximian*, and their Successors, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, agreed upon a Partition of the Empire. Not long after *Constantius* died, a Prince honour'd both alive and dead for his extraordinary Clemency and fatherly Care of his Subjects, and withal a generous Patron and Protector of the Christians, recommending his
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Son *Constantine* for his Successor, who was accordingly without delay proclaim'd Emperor and *Augustus* by the Army, and with his Father's Authority and Virtues inherited his Esteem and Affection for the Christian Religion and the Holy Catholick Church. Soon after, the two Emperors, *Constantine* and *Galerius* declar'd *Licinius* also Emperor and *Augustus*, which *Maximin* (who had no other Title than that of *Cesar*) very much resenting, conferr'd upon himself the Imperial Stile and Character; and *Maximian* also reassum'd it, but hang'd himself before he had perfected his Treason, and all the Statues and Ensigns that had been erected to his Honour, were broke in Pieces.

Maxentius, the Son of *Maximian*, was playing the same Game of Usurpation and Tyranny at *Rome*, and in all the *Western* Provinces, as *Maximin* in those of the *East*, though, as for the Persecution in the *West*, it continu'd no longer than Two Years. At first his Politicks prompted him to favour and care for the Christians, but afterwards he drew off the Mask, and there was no Wickedness so vile and brutish, but he committed it, abusing the Wives and Daughters of the Citizens, as well Noble as Plebeian, making Frolicks of Massacres, Murdering Senators to come at their Estates, and Ripping up Women with Child to gratify his Magical Curiosity and Superstition. In fine, he ruin'd and impoverish'd the City to that degree, that at last the Necessaries of Life

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were hardly to be procur'd. Yet *Maximin* outwent him a long length, for being entirely bigotted to the Pagan Worship, Incantations and Myſteries, he proſecuted the Chriſtians with more Spleen and Rigor than any of his Predeceſſors, Built and Repair'd the Heathen Temples, and thought nothing too good or too much for the Priests and Augurs; beſide, that for Oppreſſion, Rapine, Luxury, and Luſt, he ſcarce ever had his Fellow. However, the Chriſtians found it eaſy to defeat the worſt of his purpoſes; all the Miſeries and Torments he could inflict upon them, had no effect, nor answer'd his Aim and Expectation; for even thoſe of the weaker Sex, that were deſtin'd to be forc'd, laid violent Hands upon themſelves. A Chriſtian Lady at *Alexandria*, of the beſt Quality and Extraction, was ſent into Banishment by him, after he had firſt taken every thing from her, but her Virtue and her Life, of which the former ſtruck him with ſuch an awful Regard, as prov'd the Preſervation of the latter. Another Lady at *Rome*, Wife to the Prefect of the City, being ſurpriz'd by *Maxentius's* Meſſengers, and knowing that her Virtue and Honour lay at Stake, beg'd leave to ſtep into her Chamber for a Moment, and ſo ſoon as ſhe was got out of ſight, ſtruck a Dagger to her Heart. In a word, theſe Uſurpers turn'd the World upſide-down, and for Ten Years together (the Publick Calamities beginning and ending with Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians) in all Places, and among all Parties whatſoever, there

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there was nothing to be seen but the Face of War, and the Effects of Fury, beside a Famine and Pestilence which brought up the Rear.

When the Church had now been so many Years bleeding, and as yet there was no other Prospect than of greater Severities to come, it pleas'd the Divine Providence to interpose very miraculously in our behalf, by pouring forth the Dregs of his Fury upon *Galerius*, whose Body on a sudden became, as it were, one Lump of Diseases and Putrefaction, and all Parts of it generated Worms of so noxious and deadly a Scent, that the Contagion carry'd off many of his Physicians and Attendants. The Misery of this Judgment made the Tyrant recollect himself, so that having confess'd the Heinousness of his Crime, and the Justice of God in his Punishment, he gave Orders for the Persecution immediately to cease, and that the Christians should enjoy the full and free Exercise of their Religion, and their Churches be Rebuilt. And to this purpose was issued out a Revocation of his former Edicts against them; in the Conclusion of which, 'tis requir'd that they offer up Supplications to their God for the Emperors, and all their Subjects. Soon after expir'd this unhappy Man, that had been the first Mover, and most malicious Manager of this bloody Persecution.

REVUE DE LA LITTÉRATURE

Le premier volume de la collection, paru en 1881, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature française. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle. Le second volume, paru en 1882, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature étrangère. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de l'Allemagne, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature de l'Angleterre.

Le troisième volume, paru en 1883, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de l'Espagne. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le quatrième volume, paru en 1884, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de l'Italie. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle. Le cinquième volume, paru en 1885, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de la Grèce. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le sixième volume, paru en 1886, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de la Russie. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le septième volume, paru en 1887, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de la Turquie. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le huitième volume, paru en 1888, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de la Perse. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le neuvième volume, paru en 1889, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de l'Inde. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le dixième volume, paru en 1890, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de la Chine. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le onzième volume, paru en 1891, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de la Corée. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

Le douzième volume, paru en 1892, est consacré à l'histoire de la littérature de la Sibirie. Il est divisé en deux parties : la première, qui traite de la littérature de la Renaissance, et la seconde, qui traite de la littérature du XVII^e siècle.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK IX, X.

NOTwithstanding the Publication of *Galerius's* Rescript in all the Provinces and Dominions which he had made himself Master of, the Impious Usurper *Maximin*, obstructed the good Effects of it in those Parts, where he had made himself a *de Facto* Emperor, by communicating his Pleasure concerning a Mitigation, only in a private and occasional way to his Agents in Commission. But *Sabinus*, deputed *Præfectus-prætorio* in that Quarter of the World by *Galerius*, issued out his Orders in the Name of their Imperial Majesties to all Prefects of Provinces, importing, That whereas of a long time the severest Methods had in vain

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been

been us'd to fright and force the Christians out of their Perswasion, 'twas the Resolution and Purpose of their Imperial Majesties, that all such rigorous Prosecutions should cease, and that notice hereof be given to all Curators and Prefects of Provinces, and others their Inferior Officers. Upon this the Confessors, whether in the Prisons, or in the Mines, were all releas'd, and return'd to their respective Abodes, singing Anthems and Songs of Thanksgiving in the Streets and Highways, as they pass'd, and in every City large Congregations and Assemblies of the Faithful flock'd together, exercising the publick Duties of Religion, as formerly, so that the Infidels themselves openly acknowledg'd that the God of the Christians was the only True God, and those very Men, who a little before had been the most active against us, were the forwardest of any to congratulate our Deliverance.

But the Tyrant having purely out of Fear, and for Reasons of State, acquiesc'd in this Indulgence about half a Year, could now dissemble no longer, but hinder'd us from frequenting our places of Publick Devotion, and contriv'd that his Agents and Creatures should Petition him to molest the Christians; as particularly from *Antioch*, where *Theotecnus* his Curator, a Malevolent and Crafty Wretch, erected an Image of *Jupiter Philus*, and to his execrable Form of Consecration, annexed a Jargon of Oracles to flatter the Tyrant. The rest of his Deputies, when they saw 'twas an acceptable

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acceptable Piece of Service, did the like, and *Maximin* ratify'd their Proceedings by an Edict, constituting withal, several new Orders of Priests, and giving all sorts of Persons the fullest Encouragement imaginable to Vex, Injure, and Destroy the Christians; in a word, the Persecution upon the Revival was more violent than it had ever been before.

The Spurious and Blasphemous Acts of *Pilate* were sent about, every way, with Instructions for making them as Publick as they could be made, and that even the School-Masters should oblige their Boys to get them without Book. At *Damascus*, a *Journey-man* of the Tyrant's produc'd a Set of Strumpets, having threaten'd them to put them to the Torture if they scrupled obeying his Command, which was, that they should Swear they had formerly been Christians, and often concern'd in the Perpetration of those flagitious Practices and Mysteries, which were charg'd upon the Christians. These Depositions were recorded, and by the Usurper's Order made as Publick as the Acts of *Pilate*, and within a little time after the Projector of the Stratagem prov'd his own Executioner.

The Constitutions and Orders which every Corporation enacted against us, were engrav'd and promulg'd in Tables of Brass, and so likewise the Rescript of *Maximin* to encourage the Prosecution, in which Rescript he Celebrates their Zeal for the Honour of their Gods,

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and declares, That as nothing could be more acceptable to himself than the Measures they took to Chastize the Opposers of *Jupiter*, and his Fellow Deities, so they could no way more significantly express their Gratitude to the Powers themselves for the many Publick Evils diverted, and Benefits bestow'd by them, notwithstanding the Provocations and Perverseness of the Christians, and that therefore whatever Boon and Privileges such good Subjects can desire of him, they shall find him most ready to grant.

Such was the Folly and Insolence of this wild Blasphemer, but within a very little time he was made to understand, That the Great Creator of Heaven and Earth is the only Fountain of all Felicity, whether Publick or Private, and that he never defers his Judgments, but when Delaying the Execution may best answer the ends of them; for so soon as the Tyrant's Edicts were effectually dispers'd, God was pleas'd to confute them by a depopulating Famine and Pestilence, accompany'd with the Miseries of an unsuccessful War, which the Usurper begun upon the *Armenian Christians*; and indeed, so good a Cause as that of opposing a Rebel-Tyrant in Defence of their Religion, could hardly fail of a suitable Success. By the Famine which was Preliminary to the Pestilence, perish'd chiefly the Plebeians and the Peasants, among whom the Necessity was so extremely Calamitous, that they devour'd Hay or any Herbs they could lay their Hands on, (whole-
some

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some or noxious) and dropt down in the Streets, begging for a Morsel with their departing Breath. Nor did the Wealthier Sort decline to bring them Relief, till the dismal Prospect of their own Occasions discourag'd them. But though the Provisions they reserv'd might have been a Remedy against Famine, they were none against the Infection of a Pestilence, and those contagious Exulcerations and Inflammations, which swept away the People of Condition and Substance, and among these not a few of the Prefects of Provinces, while the Famine thinn'd the Populace. Insomuch, that between the one and the other, you might have seen two or three Corpses brought at once out of the same House. All this while the Christians went about distributing their Bread indifferently to their poor Neighbours and Fellow Citizens; and only They had the courage to Attend the Sick, and Bury the Dead; by these hazardous Offices of Humanity and Tenderness towards their Enemies, gaining Glory to God, and good Repute to themselves.

While Devastation and Death were thus executing their Commission, God was pleas'd to vouchsafe to his afflicted Church the sure Tokens of Reconcilement, in the Victories which the Two Emperors obtain'd, *Constantine* over *Maxentius* in the West, and *Licinius* over *Maximin* in the East. *Constantine*, the Proper and Sovereign Emperor, being now fixt upon endeavouring the Rescue of his oppress'd Subjects

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jects in *Rome* and *Italy*; in the first place solemnly implor'd the Protection and Assistance of the HOLY TRINITY, and then march'd his whole Army against the Power of *Maxentius*, whose innumerable Forces lay encamp'd on every side of *Rome*, besides the Detachments and Garrisons, he had plac'd in Possession of all the considerable Holds and Fortresses in *Italy*, though nevertheless the Usurper all the while rely'd upon the Efficacy of his Necromancy and Magical Operations, much more than upon the Strength of his Martial Preparations, or the Fidelity of his Soldiers. The Emperor confiding in the Favour of his God, and the Justice of his Cause, gave Battel to the main Body of the Rebels, as he found them distributed into three *Battalions*, defeated them in every Engagement, and follow'd his Victory up to the Walls of *Rome*. *Maxentius* and the Guards that were with him, being closely pursu'd, came under a Necessity of taking to a Bridge of Boats, (artificially plac'd and contriv'd for a Snare to the *Constantinians*) which shattering under the Crowd and Tumult of those who run aboard, sunk down on a sudden, and along with it the Tyrant and his Retinue, to the bottom of the Flood. So *Constantine* enter'd *Rome* in Triumph, and was receiv'd by the Senate, the whole Order of the *Equires*, and all the Inhabitants, with Transports of Joy, and congratulated, as the Deliverer of his People, with Shouts and Acclamations, while himself ascrib'd unto God the

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the whole Success and Glory of his Expedition, and gave Directions that the Triumphal Statue, which the Citizens erected to his Honour, should hold a Cross in the Right Hand, and that the Inscription upon the Pedestal should run in these Words, *Under the Auspices of this Propitious Ensign of the only True and Genuine Fortitude, I deliver'd your City from the Toak of Usurpation and Tyranny, and retriev'd the lost Authority and Grandeur of the Senate and People of Rome.* In the next place, the Two Emperors (for the Frenzy of Atheism and Rebellion had not seiz'd *Licinius* yet) having publicly return'd their Thanks and Praises to God for the Mercies vouchsafed them, promulg'd their Edicts and Constitutions in favour of the Christians, the first of which declares it to be the Pleasure of the Emperors, that all Sects and Parties should enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, more especially the Christians, to whom all such Persons, as either by Grant or Purchase stand possess'd of such Grounds or Buildings, as the Christians had Dedicated to Religious Uses, are commanded to restore the same, and promis'd an Equivalent upon their Application to the Officers of the Exchequer. Of this Resolution, and the Success with which God had prosper'd their Arms, the Emperors inform the Tyrant in the *East*, very much to his Mortification; but he knew full well the only way to be secure, was to Dissemble and Comply, as he had hitherto done, and to keep up a shew of
Amity

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Amity and Condescension, and so he presently Repeals his last Edict of Persecution, endeavouring in the Preamble of his Revocation to give a plausible Turn and Complexion to his late Proceedings, but then the Repeal was so worded, as only to stop the Prosecutions, without intimating any thing like a Liberty of Rebuilding the Churches, or of Assembling for the discharge of Religious Duties, and the Exercise of Church Discipline. But the Divine Majesty no longer suffer'd it self to be mock'd by this Prevaricating Adversary, whose Pride and Vanity run away so fast with his Understanding, that he assum'd a Pre-eminence of Dignity above the two Emperors, placing his Name before theirs in all his Acts; and soon after violating those Fæderal Engagements which had pass'd between *Licinius* and himself, he march'd against *Licinius* with all the Forces he could raise, reposing a resolute Confidence in the Power of his Arms, and the Patronage of his Dæmons, but these were too weak to withstand the purpose of God, who gave the Victory to *Licinius*; the Traytor-Tyrant being so deserted and distress'd at the end of the Day, that he was glad to throw off his Purple, and make the best of his way in the Garb of a Common Soldier; under the obscurity of which Disguise, he narrowly escap'd, and was no sooner got home but he sacrific'd the Diabolical Priests and Augurs, that had put him upon so fatal an Expedition, acknowledg'd the Justice and Omnipotence

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nipotence of the Great God of the Christians, and publish'd a Rescript in their favour, granting to them the full and free Exercise of their Religion, with the liberty also of Rebuilding their Churches, and restoring all such Lands, Houses, and Endowments, as *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* had confiscated. But then this forc'd and sudden Restitution avail'd him very little in the sight of God, by whose Appointment he was seiz'd with a most malignant, painful, and terrible Distemper, which so strangely emaciated and consum'd his Body, that he became literally a living Skeleton, and his inward Inflammations encreasing, his very Eye-balls started out of his Head, soon after which the comfortless Creature expir'd, vowing (too late) a Reformation, and freely confessing that his Inveteracy and Violences against the Christians, deserv'd the Severity of the Punishments which God had inflicted.

Maximin being thus remov'd, all the Churches of the Christians were without delay Rebuilt, and themselves instated in greater Privileges and Liberties than ever. *Manifesto's* were issued out by the Emperors, declaring *Maximin* to have been an Impious Usurper, a Cruel Tyrant, and a Common Enemy. The Statues and Images erected in Honour of him, or his Children were defac'd, broke to Pieces, and kick'd about the Streets: All his Rebel-Agents and Officers disgrac'd and cashier'd, and such of them as had had a hand in the Persecution, put to Death; of which number was *Picentius*,
having

having been created a Prefect under *Maximin*, thrice Consul, and his Treasurer; *Culcianus*, who had Spilt the Blood of thousands of Christians; and *Theotecnus*, the Contriver of the Idol at *Antioch*, upon whom, and upon the Priests and Augurs too, that belong'd to the Image, the Sentence of Torture was executed before that of Death. Also the Sons, and all the Relations of *Maximin*, receiv'd their Share in the Vengeance, as they had shar'd in the Provocation. And thus, by the Divine Favour, their Imperial Majesties recover'd and establish'd their Government, put a Period to the Insults of our Enemies, and encourag'd as well by their Example as Authority the Profession and Practice of true Religion; and though this miraculous Deliverance was a Subject of Joy and Triumph to all Mankind, and imputed universally to the gracious Providence of our God; yet the Christians could not be sensible of less than Extasies and Raptures, when they beheld all the Churches and Sacred Edifices rais'd higher, and more spendidly adorn'd than ever, and consecrated with all Solemnity; the Holy Fathers of the Church publickly Celebrating the Divine Goodness in Panegyrical Orations, and Convening in Councils and Synods; the Regularity and Significancy of their Canons and Constitutions; the Decency of their Rites and Ceremonies; and their Uniform Devotion in performing the Offices of Divine Service, Administring the Sacraments, Reading and Expounding the Scriptures, and Singing Psalms
and

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and Anthems, the People of all Ages and either Sex concurring Joyfully and Religiously in the Discharge of these Duties, and preserving an entire Unity among themselves in the Bond of Peace and Love, and in Righteousness of Life: Which prosperous Estate of the Church was every Day confirm'd and improv'd by the many Laws and Rescripts that were publish'd in our Favour, by those Honours and Donations with which his Imperial Majesty Invested the Bishops, and by the Epistolary Correspondence he kept on foot with them, a Specimen of which we have in his Letter to *Miltiades*, Bishop of *Rome*, upon occasion of the Schism of the *Donatists* in *Africa*, requiring that the Cause of *Cacilian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, be Synodically Examin'd and Determin'd at *Rome*, and wholly submitting the Cognizance and Decision to the Sacred Authority of the Spiritual Judicature; as also in Two Letters directed the one to *Chrestus*, Bishop of *Syracuse*, requiring him to be present in the Council appointed to Assemble at *Arles*, for a more Effectual and Satisfactory Decision of the *African* Cause, and ordering that he should be accommodated with a publick Carriage and a handsome Retinue; the other to *Cacilian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, which empower'd him to receive out of the Crown-Revenues in *Africa*, such Sums of Money, as should appear to him necessary for the Use of certain Ecclesiasticks, to defray the Expences of their Attendance upon the former Council that met at *Rome* under *Miltiades*, and to distribute

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tribute them according to the Directions sent him by *Hosius*, and to inform against all such Persons, as in any sort seduc'd or impos'd upon well-meaning Christians, his Imperial Majesty having given his Officers Instructions for their Punishment. To these Favours and Benefactions conferr'd upon the *African* Clergy, the Emperor added another, by an Order directed to *Anulinus*, Proconsul of *Africa*, which exempted them from the Burthen of Administring any Secular Offices.

Thus under the Support and Encouragement of God and his Vice Gerent, the Church enjoy'd a settled Peace, and very large Immunities and Privileges, till the Infernal Enemy had put into the Heart of *Licinius*, to Betray and Rebel against his and the Sovereign Lord of the whole Empire, who had honour'd and oblig'd him with the two greatest Benefactions, which an Universal Monarch could bestow, the Government of half his Dominions, and the Person of his Royal Sister; but all the Sacred Ties of Natural Justice, Oaths, Leagues, and Affinity, being too weak to restrain him, he begun with clandestine Artifices and insidious Practices, but the Divine Providence from time to time defeating those Measures, and so discovering the Villany of the Traytor's Intentions, at length he Proclaim'd open War at once against his God, and his Sovereign, by Oppressing and Banishing many of the Christians, that had always offer'd up their Prayers for him, and by Breaking and Cashiering all
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the Military Men that refus'd to do Sacrifice to Devils, and by enacting (among a thousand other monstrous Instances of his Legislature) this inhumane Law for one, that no Man should relieve a Christian in Custody with any Necessaries of Life, under Pain of suffering the same Penalties as the Confessor; not here to particularize all his illegal Impositions and barbarous Innovations, the Virgins, Wives, and Matrons, he forc'd himself, or deliver'd up to the Lust of those that were about him, and how many Persons of Condition and Repute he banish'd and imprison'd. Against the Bishops, whose Piety and Vigilance he knew would go a great way toward rendering his Designs abortive, he proceeded, tho' clancularly for fear of the Emperor, yet with a most implacable and sanguinary Malice. In *Amasia*, and the other Cities of *Pontus*, he levell'd the Churches with the Ground, or else shut up the Doors of them, well-knowing that the Christians *. Being, I say, fully perswaded that the Christians would use their insuperable Weapon of Prayer, as earnestly for the Success of their Sovereign against the Attempts of a Rebel, and a Perse-

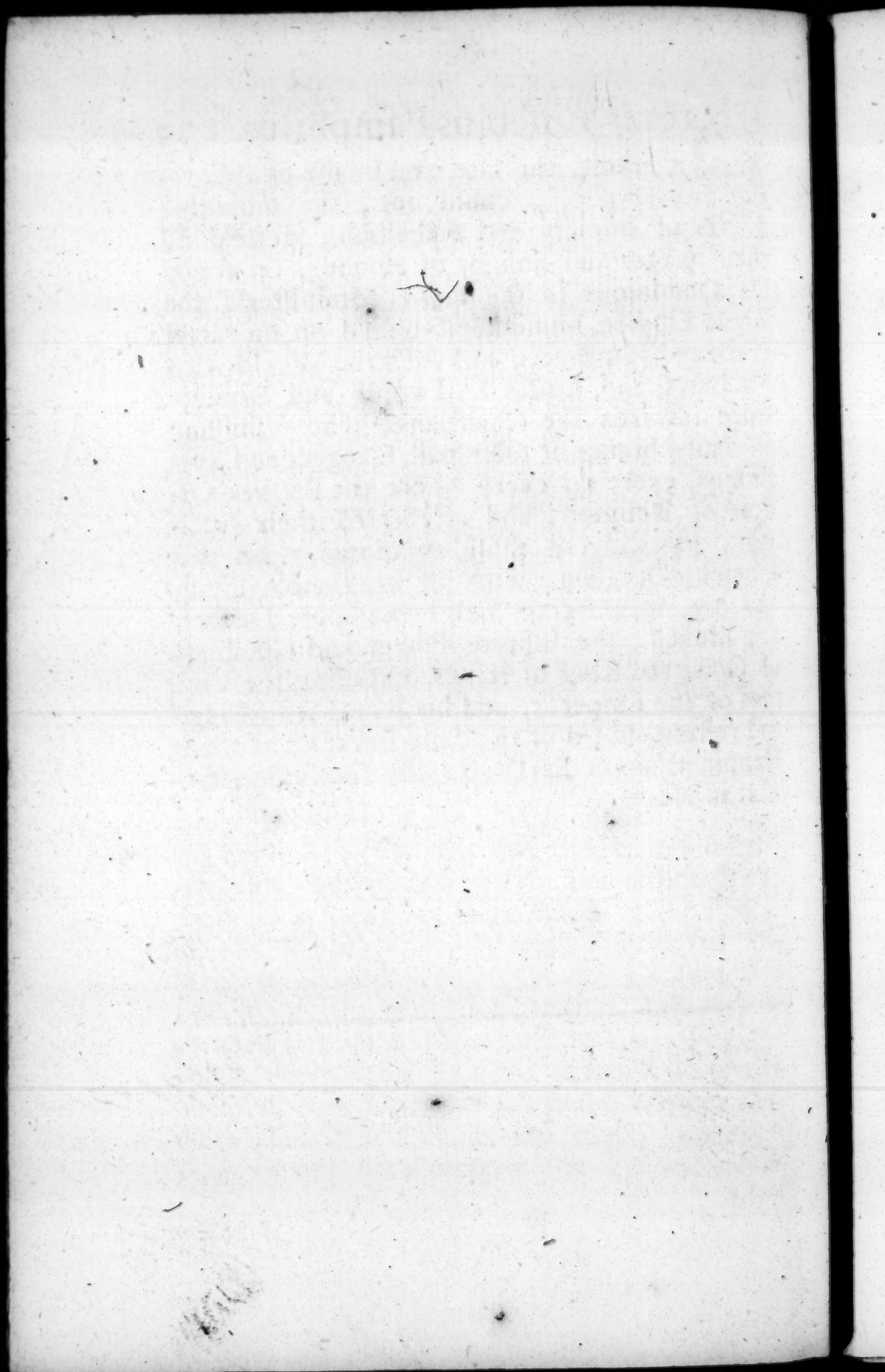
* *Who had always consider'd Loyalty as a Fundamental of their Religion, and still given their Persecutors the more eminent Proofs of it, as the Provocations to the contrary had been greater, and the Dangers more immediate, even when they had Number and Strength more than sufficient for Resistance, as we have seen in the Dioclesian Persecution.*

cutor, as they had ever done for himself before he became such, or in Opposition to the Madness of those Heathen Emperors that had formerly made Havock of the Church: This and other the like Considerations made him Outrageous against the Christians, as well as Angry with their Temples. The Bishops were condemn'd to the same Punishments as the Common Cut-throats and Felons. The Bodies of others were chopp'd to Pieces, Inch by Inch, and then thrown into the Sea for the Fish to feast upon. And the prospect of a general Persecution seem'd so near and certain, that the Christians thought it high time to take Sanctuary in the Solitude of the Woods and Mountains.

When behold! our Invincible and Gracious Emperor, the Messenger of God, finding all the gentler Methods of Mercy that had been try'd to reclaim *Licinius*, disdain'd and abus'd by him, came with his Son *Crispus* (a Son in every Respect worthy of so great and good a Father) most seasonably to the Rescue of God's Religious Servants, and his own distress'd Subjects. And this was effected easily. For although the Emperor's Army lay surrounded by the Forces of the Rebel, yet having distributed his Men into Two Bodies, (the one Commanded by himself, the other by his Son) and recommended himself and his Cause to God, he vigorously charg'd the Enemy, obtain'd an entire Victory, chas'd and destroy'd the Wolves that were ready to Devour the Prey, convinc'd *Licinius* and his Creatures, to the Sorrow of
what

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what, it seems, the late overthrow of *Maxentius* and *Maximin*, could not, the miserable Effects of Impiety and Rebellion, defac'd all their Images and Ensigns of Honour, recover'd his Dominions in the *East*, administer'd the whole Empire himself, establish'd an universal Peace and Happiness, and fill'd the World with his Laws and Edicts of Favour and Benevolence towards the Christians; who dismissing all remembrance of their past Dangers and Sufferings, exercis'd every where the Publick Offices of Religion, and celebrated their Festivals, particularly those appointed upon this glorious Occasion, with all imaginable Pomp and Joy, magnifying with Processions, Dances, and Musick, the Infinite Power and Goodness of God, the King of Kings, extolling the Virtues of the Emperor, and his Royal Off-spring; and resting assur'd of the daily Encrease of their Happiness upon Earth, to the Consummation of it in Heaven.



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F I N I S.

ADVERTISEMENT.

E NGLAND'S BLACK TRIBUNAL Set forth in the Tryal of King Charles I. by the pretended High Court of Justice in Westminster-Hall, Jan. 20. 1648. Together with His Majesty's Speech on the Scaffold Erected at White-Hall-Gate, Tuesday Jan. 30. 1648. Also a Perfect Relation of the Sufferings and Death of divers of the Nobility and Gentry, who were Inhumanly Murther'd for their Constant Loyalty to their Sovereign Lord the King: Together with their several *Dying Speeches*, from the Year 1642, to 1658, &c. The Fourth Edition. To which is added, An Historical Preface by a True Churchman. London, Printed for H. Playford in the Temple-Change, and G. Sawbridge in Little-Britain, 1703.

A
LETTER
TO

Mr. BOLD,

Occasioned by his late

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

Resurrection of the same Body.

LONDON:

*Printed for George Sawbridge, at the Three
Flower De Luce in Little-Britain, 1707.*

A
LETTER

TO

MR. BOLD,

DISCOURSE

S I R,

TH E Defence you have lately made for Mr. *Locke*, and the Objections against my Essay, had as little mov'd me to take notice of your *Discourse concerning the Resurrection of the same Body* as it has Dr. *Whitby*; but that tho' you have dealt ill by him, you have been pleas'd to handle me somewhat worse. I shall not however think it worth my while to concern my self with your little Personal Reflections and Innuendos; which are swallow'd up in that Character of Antichrist you bestow in common upon us Both, particularly p. 40. where you say *we attempt in Effect, to overturn the Kingdom of God amongst Men, set our selves in the Throne of the Lord Jesus Christ, vacate all Supernatural Revelation, and throw up the New Testament as an insignificant Cypher*; not to transcribe your Outcry to the same purpose p. 86. This is indeed a very black and frightful Charge, but let us consider what foundation it has, and whether, in truth, it falls upon me or your self.

That which you insist upon to make it out, is that I take upon me to impose a new Article of Faith; Thus p. 5. *None are oblig'd with-*

out any more ado to take their Propositions for Articles of Faith, and p. 52. *What God requires us to believe, is, That the Dead shall be raised again. He does not oblige our Faith as to Particles of Matter,* and in your Preface, *It may not perhaps be amiss to take notice of one Proposition, which has lately been contended for, which has been earnestly affirmed to be a Necessary Article of Christian Faith, the Resurrection of the same Body Philosophically consider'd, and elsewhere, passim, to the same effect:* Now whether asserting this Proposition be starting a New Article of Faith, shall be consider'd presently: But first let us see, whether, if it were so, even imposing New Articles of Faith will, in a strict and true Sense, amount to overthrowing the Kingdom of God amongst Men, vacating all Supernatural Revelation, and throwing up the New Testament as an insignificant Cypher.

Let me therefore ask you; If these were the necessary Effects of bringing in a New Article of Faith, Are not all the Popish Churches in the World unchurch'd, and particularly was not our own antecedently to the Reformation? And if so, what becomes of our Orders and Succession? If the Unreform'd Church of England were not a Part of the Kingdom of God, because she held and requir'd her Members to hold New Articles of Faith; if thereby she had no rule of Faith, and consequently no Faith, as having vacated all Supernatural Revelation, and thrown up the New Testament as an insignificant Cypher; How miserably mistaken were

were our Fathers of the Reformation ; who accepted of Ordinations from that Body , which , according to you , had long before ceas'd to be a Church , and utterly lost the Rule of Faith ? At this rate , what becomes of us their Successours ? And how is it , Sir , (to bring the matter home to your own door) that you write your self Reverend ? When you have read thus far , perhaps you will think you had sometimes been Wiser , if you had been Cooler , and that the Protestant Religion is not to be serv'd by Zeal without Knowledg.

But to say no more of the Consequences of your Inference ; I come to enquire into the grounds of your Assertion , and whether you have not highly injur'd me , and endeavour'd grossly to impose upon your Reader , in affirming that I have attempted to introduce a New Article of Faith . For what is the *Medium* you take to prove this ? Even the very same the *Papists* constantly make use of to unsettle and invalidate the most Sacred Doctrines and Articles of Faith , as profess'd in the Reform'd Churches . They exclaim against the most clear and rational and Primitive Interpretations of Scripture , because they come from *Private Men* ; not considering that their own Expositions are , and must be as much communicated , thro' Private Hands as ours ; but with this great advantage on our side , that whereas their distinguishing Traditions or Expositions , so communicated , are either not to be found in Scripture , or contrary to it ; ours are justi-

fied by that Sacred Rule and the concurrent written Evidences and Attestations of the earliest Ages of the Church. It is your Opinion (p. 4) that it is not so evident that this or that Man has a Right to assign to every one, the determinate Sense in which they must necessarily understand all the Words in which Christ has deliver'd any of his Doctrines. They may declare in their own words what they conceive is the true Sense of those Propositions Christ has taught, and the Reasons which induce them to think that the true and just Sense of them, is what they think fit to express by those other Words: But when they have done so, none are oblig'd without any more ado, to take their Propositions for necessary Articles of Faith. They may, they have a Right, and they ought to consider, whether they express themselves pertinently, and to examine whether what they deliver is true or not, and accordingly to admit or reject it. And that, Sir, is the very thing which the Papists upbraid the Reform'd Churches with, That so many Men among them shall determine one way, and so many another; and why are the former any more oblig'd to submit to the Interpretations and Reasons of the latter, than the latter to those of the former; and what Uncertainty and Distraction (say they) must all this end in ! This Objection the Reform'd Writers, but more especially those of our own Church, have always warded off by absolutely denying, what, it seems, you, Sir, do not only allow, but earnestly contend for, That *Private Interpretation is the Principle of the Reform'd*

Reform'd Churches. As if it were possible there should be any thing like Unanimity, or Uniformity, any thing like a reasonable Faith, or those Christian Virtues which are the result of it, where every Man is left to steer himself in so wide an Ocean, without any Pilot or Compass, purely by Imagination, Singularity, or Enthusiasm. No Sir, there are Those determinate Interpretations and Assistances, to which all Private Expositors stand oblig'd to submit and conform themselves, those written ones I mean, of the Primitive Church, which God has graciously preserv'd for that purpose. *Quod ubiq; quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est,* is that which must overrule all the private Judgments in the World; and there is evident Reason for it, because the proper Sense of an Article of Faith is not a matter of Speculation, but of Fact; and to know whether we believe right, we must not have recourse to our own Observations and Opinions first, for those will by no means hold against the clear and consentient Attestation of Antiquity, but to the Tradition and the Declarations of Those, who in regard of the time they liv'd in, and other signal advantages which we have not now, knew much better than we possibly can, in what sense the Propounders understood their own Propositions. This is what I have insisted on in my Essay, p. 31, 32, 33, 45. and let me tell you, Sir, you ought in the first place to have prov'd me mistaken here, (or else to have

forborn advancing Mr. *Locke's* and your own new private Notions in contradiction to this Rule and Authority; at least it became you very little to pretend me guilty of Innovation, and Private Interpretation, and setting up new Articles, 'till you had either confuted those Pages, or disarm'd me of my Authorities, or made it appear that Mr. *Locke's* and your new Interpretation of the Resurrection is consistent with them, or has any other Support or Foundation than your own private Reasoning, which, in this Case, where the thing we are concern'd about is a matter of Fact, avail nothing against my express Authorities.

Upon the whole then; Not I, but Mr. *Locke* and you have presum'd to set up a New Article of Faith; and no wonder, since, as Mr. *Locke* ingenuously enough confesses, *what the Christian Church has always understood is beyond his Knowledge.* Not Unlikely. But your Character, Sir, forbids me to think it is beyond Yours, and therefore what; possibly, was Ignorance in him, may justly be interpreted a willful Contempt in you: Especially if it be remember'd how superficially you pass over the Judgment of Antiquity, and how strangely you misrepresent the Doctrine of those three great Fathers you vouchsafe to mention p. 35. where, without citing one Line, you tell us (but are now challeng'd to prove he says so according to your meaning) that *St. Clement* teaches us,
 People

People are to come to Judgment in that very Flesh in which they were call'd to the Christian Faith. One would think the Words should have been produc'd, to have shew'd that I had either misunderstood, or done St. Clement wrong, p. 33, 34, 35, 36. which it might have been worth your while to make-out, if you could have done it. Irenæus, you add, asserts, That all the Flesh of all Mankind must be raised. You are unwilling, it seems, to be partial between St. Clement and him, and therefore you do not tell us where he says this in your Sense. But no matter for that; You shall enjoy the Secret, if you'll give him leave to let us know his own meaning, which he does in words as clear and express as Man could do, *Supereſt igitur* (says he) *ut circa carnem Mors ostendatur, quæ poſteaquam exierit anima, ſine ſpiratione, & inanimale efficitur, & paulatim reſolvitur in Terram ex qua ſumpta eſt. Hæc igitur mortalis, hæc autem eſt de qua etiam dicit, vivificabit & mortalia corpora noſtra. Et propter hoc ait de ea in prima ad Corinthios, ſic & Reſurrectio mortuorum, ſeminatur in Corruptione, ſurget in Incorruptione. Etenim tu, ait, quod ſeminas non vivificatur, niſi prius moriatur. Quid eſt autem quod ut granum tritici ſeminatur, & putrit in Terra, niſi Corpora quæ in Terra ponuntur, in qua et ſemina jactantur.— Quid enim ignobilius carne MORTUA, vel quid iterum glorioſius ſurgente EA, et percipiente Incorruptelam. Indubitate docuit quoniam neque de anima neque de Spiritu*
ſermo

mo est ei, sed de mortificatis Corporibus. Hæc sunt enim corpora animalia, id est, participantia animæ, quam cum amiserint, mortificantur. Deinde per Spiritum surgentia fiunt Corpora Spiritualia, uti per Spiritum semper permanentem habeant vitam. This is not the first time I have produc'd this Authority. *Tertullian*, you wou'd make us believe, says no more than that it is *Man's Flesh*, indeterminately as to any part of his *Life*, which must be rais'd. And yet he is the Father who has more copiously and vigorously exerted himself against that Indefinite Doctrine, than, I think, any of them. See what he urges in my Essay, p. 40, 41, 43. and his Book *De Resurrectione*, especially from the 52. Chap. to the end. Give me leave to add here what I have omitted there, those plain and positive Words in his Book *de Anima*, c. 56. *Nostri autem, illud quoq; recogitent, corpora eadem recepturas in resurrectione animas, in quibus decesserunt;* And let our People remember their Souls are at the Resurrection to be reunited to the same Bodies they left at the point of Death. Is this now speaking indeterminately as to any part of their Lives?

By this time, Sir, you may see, and it shall be further prov'd upon you by and by, that you have not only brought up a New Article of Faith, but one that is immediately and directly contrary to and destructive of an Old one, viz. The Resurrection of the Body rightly understood; unless you will here hope to mend the matter by that empty Palliation which

which you offer for Mr. Locke, p. 87. That he acknowledges the Possibility of the same Body's being rais'd; and has not writ one word against it, but only against Men's affirming and teaching without warrant from Scripture, that the same Body shall be rais'd at the Last Day, is a Necessary Article of Christian Faith, and you are very angry with me for representing Mr. L. as writing industriously against the Possibility of the same Body's being rais'd. But, pray, Sir, how come you to infer from my finding fault with Mr. L. for endeavouring to make out the Position of the Body's Material Identity at the Resurrection to be Indefensible, *i. e.* what no Man could maintain as a certain and necessary Truth, that I suppose he held such a Resurrection to be Impossible? Does he that says you cannot make it out that hereafter such a Thing *shall be* done, affirm, for that Reason, that it is in it self *impossible to be* done? Or have I, any where, made any such Inference in relation either to Mr. L. or any Body else? Nay, I have told you (*p. 20. of my Ess.*) that I presume Mr. L. will not, in answer to an Argument I had offer'd just before, insist upon the Miraculousness or Difficulty of such a Resurrection. So that Mr. L. shall be allow'd not to have conceiv'd any Impossibility in the same Body's Rising that was buried; But what then? Did not he affirm, and do not you, *That possibly, or it may be, the same Body which was buried shall not be rais'd agen?* And that Position of his I affirm to be a New Article

Article of Faith; for whatever Proposition is asserted as the Meaning of an Article of Faith, and is not so, is a New Article of Faith; This Position or Doctrine of Mr. *Locke's*, That possibly the same Body which was Buried shall not be Rais'd agen, has been asserted by him, and is by you, to be the Meaning of the Article of the Resurrection, and it is not so; Therefore this Position or Doctrine of Mr. *Locke's* and yours, is a New Article of Faith. If you say that Mr. *L.* has not asserted, that his Doctrine *is*, but only that it *may be* the Meaning of the Article of the Resurrection; I answer, that no Article of Faith, nor any other Proposition, can have two Meanings inconsistent with one another, as yours and mine are about the Resurrection of the Body, and therefore yours *cannot be* the Meaning of it, unless it is so; and that it is not so, stands yet very clearly, and fully proved in my Essay, notwithstanding all you have urg'd against it, as will further appear presently. In the mean time remember, Sir, that, as certainly as this is the Case, the Imputation of advancing New Articles, entirely falls upon Mr. *Locke* and your self.

To make it evident that that which I am engag'd for, is the true Sense and Meaning of the Article of the Resurrection, I have had recourse to the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, understood according to the receiv'd and necessary import of the Words, and the Comments and Illustrations of the earliest Fathers.

And

And this is such a Test and Rule as cannot deceive us, and will easily keep us from being deceiv'd by others. It is not the private and singular Speculations of any one, no nor of Ten Thousand Modern Writers, that ought to take place of this Sovereign and infallible Criterion; nor all the Art and Sophistry in the World, that can perplex and involve the Sense of it. But, it seems, you are for throwing aside those ordinary and obvious Authorities, which the Goodness of God has provided as a Testimony, to no less than a Comment upon his Holy Word; Thus p. 32. where you are speaking of the Primitive Christians, you say *Men of eminent Piety, and fervent Devotion, are not infallible Interpreters of Holy Scripture;* and again p. 33. *their Interpretations (i. e. those of the Ancient Christian Writers) are like other Mens; Just of so much Weight and Authority, as the Reasons and Evidences are, which they produce to shew that the Sense in which they understand such Portions of Scripture, is the Proper and Genuine Sense of them; and that, in which they ought to be understood, rather than in any other.* But what if they had not an Infallibility lodg'd in their Persons? Is it not at least to be suppos'd, that They, by whom, and in whom God was pleas'd to work many Miraculous Operations, were favour'd with an extraordinary portion of those ordinary Succours and Influences which would best qualify them for the Office of Expositors; Or however, cannot Men be unexceptionable Interpreters

terpreters and *Witnesses* of the Sense of Writings Divinely inspir'd, and their Authority as such uncontestable and decisive, without being Infallible? Are *Euclid's* Problems, Disputable or Uncertain, because *Euclid* was not Infallible? And were not the Writers of the Primitive Church, as sure of a Matter of Fact (for such, as I have told you before, was the Sense of the Catholick Church in their respective Times) as *Euclid* was of his Problems? Certainly they were; and no Man that does not look upon them to have been a Combination of Knaves and Fools, and his own Sense and Authority to be much Superiour to theirs, (which, I confess, those who are either too illiterate, or lazy to consult them, are very apt to do) can put their Interpretations upon a level with other Men's. You are wofully mistaken, Sir, if you think they are only to be consider'd by us as Reasoners; No, they are so many Witnesses and Vouchers, from whom we are to learn, not only what they thought and believ'd themselves, but what the Apostles held, and the whole Church after them; and where we find them consenting in the Sense of any Doctrine or Portion of Holy Scripture, or so many of them as have taken notice of any such Doctrine or Portion, there, unless they themselves give us very good grounds to believe, that what they there deliver is matter only of private Judgment or Opinion, we may be sure what they teach us was *Catholick*, and they themselves *Orthodox*. If you had consider'd this, perhaps

haps you had left out the second Section of your fifth Chapter, or else made it appear that they who maintain, that the same Body which dy'd and was bury'd shall rise, and that this is the Sense of the Article of the Resurrection, have not all those Fathers, who have said any thing upon that Point, on their side. Which Mr. *Locke* was, and you are, so far from attempting, that, as he has declar'd himself absolutely a Stranger to what the Christian Church has always understood; so you make your own Interpretations Equal with it, nay, you set them Above it; Which, I must tell you is much Worse than not knowing what it is.

But since you are resolv'd, Sir, not to be determin'd by those who are much better Judges of the Sense of Scripture in this, and all other Theological Controversies, than you or I can pretend to be; Let us examine how successful you have been in explaining those Texts of Scripture which I, or others, have alledg'd in favour of the Doctrine which I am concern'd for, and whether or not you have shew'd them to be reconcileable with Mr. *Locke's* and your Uncertainty of the Resurrection of the Body that dy'd and was bury'd. Only give me leave for the sake of others, into whose hands this Letter may come, to refer to some few Places of the Despis'd Primitive Expositors and Witnesses of the Sense of Scripture, where they have set down the Text, and are so unhappy as not to agree with Mr. *Locke*, and Mr. *Bold*.

Romans

Romans c. 8. v. 11. (which *Dr. Whitchy* has produc'd against *Mr. Locke* upon this occasion) you conceive, implies no more than a *Declaration and Proof that sincere Christians must and will lead truly Regular and Obedient Lives, because the Spirit of Christ in them, is a vital Principle, effectually influencing them in whom he dwells to a Holy and New Obedience.* Will you then, with the Quaker, make the Raising of Christ from the Dead, expressly there spoken of, no more than a Spiritual Allegorical Resurrection? Or if you will allow what is said of his Resurrection there to be meant in the plain and proper Sense of the Words, why not what is said in the same place, of Ours; at least since ours stands there answering to his, and the Certainty of it is inferr'd from the Certainty of his? Besides, if you follow the thread of the Discourse to the end of the Chapter, you'll find 'the Apostle concern'd, (especially to *v. 17.*) to insist upon, if not entirely, yet principally, the Certainty of our Resurrection as a Motive to Purity of Life and Patience. Thus he argues *v. 17, 18, 19.* *If Children, then Heirs; Heirs of God, and joynt Heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorify'd together. For I reckon, that the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed in us. For the earnest Expectation of the creature waited for the manifestation of the Sons of God.* And to the same effect, *v. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.* of the same Chapter.

Chapter. That the Ancients understood this Text of the Resurrection of the Body is evident from *Irenæus adv. Hæres. L. 5. c. 7. Tertullian. de Resurrectione c. 46. Edit. Paris. an. 1664. & adv. Marcionem, L. 5. c. 14.*

You take next into consideration what is urg'd against your Notion from 1 Cor. 15. You will have *πῶς* before *σώματι* v. 35. to signifie, not *with what kind of*, but *with which* or *what Body*, because *διὰ ποῖον αὐτῶν ἕργον* (St. John Chap. 10. v. 32.) is, in our Translation, *for which of those Works*. But are you sure *Which* there does not stand for *which sort of*, as it very well may? Indeed must, 'till an instance be brought where *ὅς* signifies *quis* as oppos'd to *qualis*? Which yet would be nothing to the purpose, 'till you have shewn that it does not signifie *what sort of* in 1 Cor. c. 16. v. 35. notwithstanding the Context so evidently runs upon the Qualities of the rising or rais'd Body; and there is nothing in the Question it self, nor the Discourse that immediately follows in answer to the Question, that should induce us to suppose the meaning of *πῶς σώματι* was, as you make it *whether strictly with the same, or other Bodies, or with which Body*; (as if every Man had two or three Bodies belonging to him, dead and bury'd) Nay, and notwithstanding the fundamental Rules of Grammar and Speech oblige us, in regard of the Context, to construe it as I have done; For tho' you say *ὅς* may be the Nominative

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You take next into consideration what is urg'd against your Notion from 1 Cor. 15. You will have *τοῦ* before *σώματι* v. 35. to signifie, not *with what kind of*, but *with which* or *what Body*, because *διὰ τοῦτον αὐτῶν ἔργον* (St. John Chap. 10. v. 32.) is, in our Translation, *for which of those Works*. But are you sure *Which* there does not stand for *which sort of*, as it very well may? Indeed must, 'till an instance be brought where *ὅτι* signifies *quis* as oppos'd to *qualis*? Which yet would be nothing to the purpose, 'till you have shewn that it does not signifie *what sort of* in 1 Cor. c. 16. v. 35. notwithstanding the Context so evidently runs upon the Qualities of the rising or rais'd Body; and there is nothing in the Question it self, nor the Discourse that immediately follows in answer to the Question, that should induce us to suppose the meaning of *τοῦ σώματι* was, as you make it *whether strictly with the same, or other Bodies, or with which Body*; (as if every Man had two or three Bodies belonging to him, dead and bury'd) Nay, and notwithstanding the fundamental Rules of Grammar and Speech oblige us, in regard of the Context, to construe it as I have done; For tho' you say *ὅτι* may be the Nominative

Case to *πείσεται* v. 42, 43. yet you shou'd have let us know, Why any more than to *πείσεται* again v. 44? The Antithesis, *πείσεται, ὑγίαισεται*, is the same, successively, thro' the three Verses ; And consequently, by the known Rules of Grammar and Speaking, what is the Nominative Case to both Verbs in one Verse, will be so to them in another. Now *σῶμα* is expressly the Nominative Case to *πείσεται*, and *ὑγίαισεται* v. 44. and therefore it must be so too, v. 42, 43. But let us suppose *πνεῦμα* to be the Nominative Case v. 42, 43. and by *πνεῦμα* understand the Man or Person as you do ; and then the English of *πείσεται ἐν φθορᾷ* will be *the Whole Man is sown in Corruption*, i. e. the Soul as well as the Body. And will you stand to that Proposition? Yes, you will, for you construe *πείσεται* not being laid in the Grave, but plac'd as in this World or Life. Well then! Let us see how this Interpretation (which, at best, there is no more Ground or Occasion for than for the Quaker's Spiritualizing the Resurrection) will suit with the Context. But some Man will say how are the Dead raised up, and with what Body do they come ; The Answer, according to you, is this, *The Man is sent to live here, and he is rais'd in incorruption, as Corn, is lay'd in the Ground, and not quick'ned except it die.* Here it is plain, if you will make the first part of the Answer *The Man is sent to live in this World* pertinent to the Question, *How are the Dead rais'd up? &c.* That by the Dead St. Paul must have meant the *Living ;*

Living ; and this conformably to your own Observation p. 47. in these words, *As for the Nominative Case to ἀνίσταται, I am persuaded the Dr. will easily find one without introducing ὅμα, when he has a little better consider'd the sense of the Place, where the Apostle's Purpose is to speak of νεκροὶ, Mortal Men being dead, and rais'd again, and made Immortal. So that (whether your Distinction between the Man or your Person and the Body be any thing to the purpose, which shall be consider'd by and by) you own (as every body must) that the Nominative Case before ἀνίσταται, in the Apostle's Answer, must answer to, and, in its Signification, be the very same with the Nominative Case to ἐγείρονται, in the Question v. 35. and then, as the Question is *How are the Dead rais'd up,* so, by your Construction, the first part of the Answer will be *The Dead live in this World.* Again? If ζωοποιεῖται or *Quickning* (v. 36.) answers to ἐγείρονται being rais'd v. 42, 43, 44. which you your self Acknowledge and assert, p. 45. then σπείρει or *Sowing*, v. 36, 37. will answer to ἀνίσταται being sow'd, v. 42, 43, 44. and therefore as Sowing, in reference to Grain, v. 36, 37. signifies committing to the Earth, so Sowing, in reference to the Dead, v. 42, 43, 44. must signifie our being committed to the Earth instead of our living upon it. How the Fathers understood what concerns the present Question in this Chapter, is very plain from Irenaus L. 5. c. 2, 7, 12, 13. Tertullian de Resurrect. c. 48, 52. & deinceps & adv. Mar-*

cionem, L. 5. c. 9. & *alibi*. And now, Sir, whether in the Paraphrase of yours, you have dealt by an Apostle of Christ, nay by the Holy Ghost, as you would be dealt by your self, I think I may leave to your own Conscience to tell you.

Φθαρτὸν and θνητὸν (you say) may signifie Persons, v. 35. 54. as well as τὸ πνευματικὸν and τὸ ψυχικὸν v. 46. or as τὸ γυνήθειον and τὸ γυνώμενον does a Person, St. *Matthew*, c. 1. v. 20. St. *Luke*, c. 1. v. 35. But, by your leave Sir, there is no necessity, nor any reason why πνευματικὸν and ψυχικὸν v. 46. should refer to *Christ* and *Adam*, as Persons, in the preceeding Verse, since Grammar and Language would then have requir'd that the Neuters in the 46th v. should have been all Masculine, as are the πρῶτος, &c. in the two Verses immediately following, and therefore the Neuters in v. 46th. must be the same with those in v. 44th. where they are joyn'd to σῶμα, to distinguish the State of the Natural Body, deriv'd from *Adam*, and that of the Spiritualiz'd or Glorified Body which we stand assur'd of and entituled to by the Resurrection of the *Second Man*, the *Lord from Heaven*. Your Instances from St. *Matthew*, and St. *Luke*, are as little to the purpose, because That which was conceiv'd in and born of the Blessed Virgin by virtue of the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, was no more than the Humanity of that Person who was both God and Man, and the Reason and Nature of the Thing, it being impossible

possible that γεννηθῆν ἐν αὐτῇ, *Matth. 1, 20.* and γενόμενος ἐκ σου *Luke, 1, 35.* should be the Divinity, though the Godhead was united to the Manhood, and by virtue of that personal Union Christ is called the Son of God in the Scriptures, and the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God by the Church.

That Text from St. John's Gospel, c. 5. † *All that are in the graves shall hear his Voice, &c.* you will not allow to be any thing to the purpose, unless we prove that πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις is the same with πάντα τὰ σώματα ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις. The Impertinency of that Distinction in the Matter before us, shall be sufficiently shewn e'er I have done. In the mean time I must put you in mind of the Absurdity I have prov'd upon Mr. L. in applying that Distinction to this Text (p. 22, 23, 24. of my Essay) and of the Reasons I have offer'd already (*Ibid.* p. 24, 25, 26, &c.) to shew that in the present Case that Distinction is frivolous and trifling. As for your Observation, *that if we must in that Text keep strictly to the very words, here is no account of the Resurrection of any, but those who have been formally Buried, whose Bodies have been actually laid in Graves,* you answer it your self in your very next words, *viz. that these words, All that are in the Graves, when us'd or spoken with*

† V. Epist. ad Tarsenses S. Ignatio adscriptam; Et
hericum, L. 5. c. 13.

reference to the General Resurrection, is a Phrase of the same import with *All Dead Persons*, whether their Bodies were laid in Graves, or what manner soever they have been dispos'd of, after their Decease ; so that if all Dead Persons can signify nothing else but *All Dead Bodies*, which I have shew'd in my Essay, as above referr'd to, and shall presently shew farther, then, by your own construction, that Expression *πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις* extends to the Resurrection of those Bodies that have not been bury'd ; and indeed the Context precludes all manner of pretence for such a nice Limitation ; for *πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις* here is *οἱ νεκροὶ* in v. 25. You remark p 64. that (*make the best sense that is possible of an unraised part of a raised person*) the Soul will be no raised part at all of the raised person, according to the Construction I put upon this Text : But there is nothing to be admir'd in this Animadversion of yours but its Absurdity ; till you can prove that not the Body only, but the Soul as well as the Body, dies and is bury'd.

What you have in particular, to say to *Rom. c. 8. v. 23.* and * *Philip. c. 3. v. 20, 21.* is, that *our Bodies must, in these places of Scripture, signify either the Bodies Believers had when the Apostle writ these Epistles, or the words alludg'd out of them, or the Bodies Believers have when they read these words. Our Bodies, if consider'd Philo-*

* *V. Irenaeum L. 5. c. 13. Tertull. de Resurr. c. 47.*
sophically

Philosophically must signify the Bodies we have at some certain time of Life ; The Bodies we have at the time when we hear or read these Words of the Apostle, are the only Bodies which can properly and strictly be then called our Bodies. But this Objection or Distinction you might have seen obviated, p. 10. of my Essay, where I have observ'd, that whatever we make to be the Principle and Foundation of Identity, 'tis agreed on all sides, that so long as the Life of the Body is uninterrupted, whatever Particles it may from time to time have lost by Perspiration or acquir'd by Nutrition, the several Actions perform'd at Distant times by the Body of the same Person, are to be imputed to it as to one and the same Individual, the Principle of Action in Humane Bodies remaining Uninterrupted as long as the Union between Soul and Body. Your Answer to which is in substance, that, because Vital Union constitutes the same Man, notwithstanding the Body is perpetually losing old and acquiring new Particles, therefore it will constitute the very same Man at the Resurrection, whether that Body be made up only of the same Individuals which made up the Body at Death, or some other Particles be mixed with them. (*Disc. p. 18.*) But how Trifling is this ? For where, I beseech you, is the consequence, that, because it is not necessary a Man should keep those Particles of his Body he had when his Soul was first united to his Body, or if you will, when he was Born to continue him the same Man, therefore it is not necessary,

necessary, when that Union has been absolutely dissolv'd, that the same body, as to the Matter of it, should not be reunited to the same Soul, to *make him again* the same Man? Mr. *Locke* and you seem to value your selves not a little upon the accuracy of your Distinctions, and lay Obscurity and Confusion, and I know not what, all to the charge of your Adversaries, as particularly p. 16. of your Discourse; Whereas in Truth, however good you may be at distinguishing, which 'tis nothing to my purpose here to enquire, you are more unfortunate in one respect than those who make no distinctions can be, and that is, you confound your own. Thus, because Personal Identity, which is one thing, is consistent with a Succession of Particles, purely upon the Score of Vital Union, therefore Material Identity of the Parts to be United, which is another thing, is not necessary to Reestablish that Union. But more of this in its proper place. Only take notice for the present, that as certainly as the Union between Soul and Body makes all the Actions of the Body, however distant in time, imputable to it as to the same Individual, and the Body to be consider'd as such, whatever Particles it commutes, nay, whatever Parts or Limbs it loses; so certainly *Our Bodies*, *Rom. c. 8. v. 23.* and *Phil. c. 3. v. 20, 21.* must signifie those very Bodies, which the Souls then United to them, were, or are to quit at their being Disunited, because the Union being not interrupted

rupted till then, the Part that undergoes Alterations and Defalcations, is look'd upon as still that same to the time of the Man's Dissolution, and in consequence of that Union properly and really is so.

You seem dispos'd to be Merry, p. 60. upon my observing that *the Old Testament is not without its Articles of Faith too*? What Reason you had to be so, will appear presently. Let us first consider what you say to † *Job*, c. 19. v. 25, &c. and *Isaiah*, c. 26. v. 19. produc'd by me in p. 12. and 13. of my Essay, against Mr. *Locke's* new Notion. You do not deny that what I have quoted from *Job*, relates to the general Resurrection, nay, in the stating of your Solution you grant it; for all that you insist upon is, *That Job does not say, that at the Resurrection he shall have the very same Body which the Worms after his Disease should devour; and that no doubt he speak of the Body he then had, when he said this Body*; To which I have already in my Essay p. 12, 13. given so full and distinct an Answer, that your taking no notice of it obliges me to think you had either forgot it your self, or had a mind other People should not know it, or remember it; to remedy which Inconveniencies I shall repeat it here, and these are the Words, *Here we see THIS BODY, and this Body the same with*

† *V. S. Clementis Ep. 1. ad Cor. Sect. 26. Origen in S. Matth. Tom. 1. p. 487.*

that

that which Worms shall destroy, that is, the Body that was to be Bury'd; yet, says he, in *MY FLESH*, i. e. in the Flesh of this Body which Worms should destroy, as is evident from the Conjunction Yet, which stands a Redditive to the Adversative Conjunction Though, shall I *FOR MY SELF WITH MINE EYES* and *NOT ANOTHER* (all by Vertue of the same Particle Yet, answering to a Person having again that Body which Worms should destroy) see God. Is it enough to say in Answer to this Reasoning, that no doubt Job spake of the Body he then had, when he said this Body? And would you not do well to reflect upon the heinous Impiety of denying, that the Holy Ghost has not dictated that which is so very plainly and expressly affirm'd in this Place?

You are forc'd to acknowledge too, by not denying, that my dead Body in * *Isaiah*, c. 26. v. 19. would come home to my purpose, if that Text were to be understood literally; But, you say, 'tis the *Carkass of a City*, the Prophet is there speaking of. And I have told you, (*Essay* p. 13.) that some Commentators so interpret it, though not exclusively of its Importance to prove the general Resurrection. Certainly you are not to be now inform'd that many passages in the Holy Scripture, but especially in the Old Testament, carry more sig-

* *V. Irenaum* L. 5. c. 15. & 24. *Tertull. de Resurr.* c. 31. *Constit. Apostol.* L. 5. c. 7.

nifications than one in them, and that sometimes a Text, whose sense is Allegorical with respect to one time, ought to be understood according to the proper and literal import of the Words, with respect to another. Where therefore that proposition which in reference to one event, is meant only allusively, agrees, in the matter of it literally understood with another, or others which are to be strictly and literally understood; there, unless any Inconsistency or Incongruity will follow, we are to conclude, that the former comprehends in it an Illustration and Confirmation of the latter. This is the Case of the Text before us, which, besides its Allegorical meaning with respect to *Judah*, falls in, as to the matter literally understood, with those places of Holy Scripture which certify us of the general Resurrection; and therefore ought to be reckon'd among them. For where the Dictates of the Holy Ghost may without any incongruity be understood in a Literal as well as an Allegorical Sense, there undoubtedly they ought to be so understood.

But now, Sir, to settle that matter a little, which you touch upon so confidently, and yet so confusedly, *The Old Testament's being not without it's Articles of Faith*, let it be first observ'd how obscurely and ambiguously you express your self about it. In your Preface you say *no Propositions are to be intruded as necessary Articles of Christian Faith, which are not evidently Parts of Divine Revelation*, **Yea clearly taught**

taught in the New Testament. In your Introduction instead of *clearly taught in the New Testament*, you have these Words *Certainly taught in the Bible*, and again, — *Humane Systems wou'd no longer deflower the Bible*. But s. 6. you return to your first Rule, and will have no Doctrine admitted to be an Article of Christian Faith, *which cannot be made appear to be deliver'd in some part of the New Testament*. This is very surprizing! Sometimes Articles of Faith are absolutely confin'd to the *New Testament*, sometimes they are not shut out of Divine Revelation in general, or the *Bible*! it seems you wou'd allow both Propositions. But I must tell you that cannot be; if therefore you will not exclude the *Old Testament*, why are you so pleasant (p. 60.) upon my admitting it? But if you do exclude it, I must ask you by what Authority, and upon what Motive? I suppose, Sir, (not to appeal to other Churches, Ancient or Modern) you have subscrib'd the 39 Articles of the Church of *England*. And does not the sixth of those Articles co-extend Articles of Faith, and whatever is requisite, or necessary to Salvation with the whole *Bible*, the *Old Testament* as well as the *New*? How then come you to restrain Articles of Faith wholly to the *New Testament*? All the reason I can find for it, is, because you suppose *it is not to be deny'd, that all the Articles of the Christian Faith are contained in the New Testament*, p. 60. 'Tis true, all the Articles of the Apostles Creed

Creed are there contain'd? But because they are found in the *New Testament*, may they not be Articles of Faith, consider'd as deliver'd in the *Old Testament* too? And because those Points of Faith, which are of the very highest importance and significancy, and more necessary, with regard to the Nature and Consequences of them, to be inculcated and insisted upon than any others, are compriz'd in a Summary, which is able to maintain it self upon the Foundation of the Apostles, therefore are not the Christian Faith and Church Built upon that of the Prophet too? Or therefore were not other *Credenda*, whether Doctrinal or Historical, which are in the *Old Testament*, and not in the *New*, necessary to be believed too, as matters of Faith, and Divine Revelations? You seem to have forgot that our Blessed Saviour himself confuted the Sadduces, and prov'd the Article of the Resurrection by a passage of the *Old Testament*; *As touching the Resurrection* (says our Lord in *St. Matth. 22. vers. 31.*) *have you not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living;* and dare you say, Sir, 'tis an absurdity to vindicate and evince the Genuine Sense of this Article in the same way, and by the same Authority he was pleas'd to make use of to prove the Truth and Certainty of it?

I now

I now arrive at your great *Diana*, to the noise and repetition of which you seem to think your Adversaries cannot but yield ; and that is, the Distinction we are put in mind of so often, between *the Body* and *the Man*, or *the Person* particularly, c. 4. Sect. 1. and again, Sect. 2. where you pretend to rectifie our Mistake, That *Death only happens to the Body*, whereas you think *Death rather happens to the Man* ; and so the Scripture teaches, and so again, 1b. What (say you) is become of the Person? Is he still Living? The Vital Union of Soul and Body, they say, constitutes the Man, makes the Person. And this Vital Union is by Death undoubtedly broken, yet the Man is not Dead. That, which constitutes the Man is destroy'd, but the Man continues safe and sound. Now all this Jangle I have so fully anticipated in my Essay, (from p. 23. to p. 27.) and you have taken so little notice of it, indeed, none at all of what pinch'd most, that I am almost asham'd to say any thing more about it. But, because you seem to lay the stress of your Cause upon it, give me leave to tell you, that I think it so far from supporting your Doctrine, that I take it to be a Distinction utterly out of the Question, and cannot but wonder how Mr. *Locke* came to bring it in upon this occasion. For the subject of our Question is, and can be no more than barely the Body. And as Triumphantly as you are pleas'd to oppose the Resurrection of the Man to the Resurrection of the Body, the Opposition and Distinction is, in plain English,

English, Nonsense. For tho figuratively or ordinarily speaking, the Man is said to Die, or be Dead, to lie in the Grave, and to rise again out of it; yet does not every Body know that, in the proper Sense, only the Body Dies, *i. e.* suffers such a Change of Constitution and Texture, and such a Dissolution of Parts, more or less, as to lose the Life it had before, that only the Body is Buried, and therefore only that can Rise again? Well, but you distinguish between the Dissolution or Dissipation of the Parts of the Body, and the Disuniting of the Soul and Body, in which, you say Death properly consists, and wherein not only the Body but the whole Man is concern'd. What is all this but confounding what I believe, no Man (Mr. Locke excepted) ever confounded before, *The Point of Death with the State of Death?* But I will put it upon this; 'Till the Soul and Body are absolutely Separated, *the Man is not Dead*; From the Instant of Separation *only the Body is so*; and then, tho that Separation puts an end to the Man or Person, yet it does not put an end to the Life of one of the two Separated Parts, and therefore, unless you will undertake to reconcile *Life and Death*, that is, *Contradictions*, as there can be no such thing as a Dead Man 'till Soul and Body are actually Separated, so from that Instant only the Body is Dead; and therefore, not properly the Man: Unless, I say, you will affirm that that Part *is Dead* too, which *Survives* the Body. To speak the Truth, Mr.

Locke's

Locke's Distinction between Man or Person, and Body, in the matter before us, is that old Threadbare Fallacy of Arguing, *a Dicto secundum quid ad Dictum simpliciter*, and answers, *Verbatim*, to that very common example of it, *Cadaver est homo mortuus, ergo est homo*. Had you distinguish'd between the Expressions, *a Dead Man* and *a Dead Body*, and told us that the one was Improper and Figurative, and the other proper and Philosophical, you had spoke to the Purpose, but then, there's the mischief on't, this would at once have overturn'd your own Hypothesis; for then *Dead Man* would have signifi'd still no more than *Dead Body*. But to apply a Distinction to Things, which wholly belongs to words of Expressions, and then to draw Conclusions from it as if it held as to Things, in such a sort of *Logick* as I have rarely met with before. And yet this is most notoriously *Mr. Locke's* and your new way of Reasoning. The Scripture speaks of *Dead Men*, and the Resurrection of *Dead Men*, and those Expressions have been, and are always very common; Therefore *Dead Men* and *Dead Bodies* are two different Things; Therefore 'tis not certain, that at the Resurrection the Men who Dy'd should have again the same Bodies that Died. Which is just as if a Gentleman should argue thus; A Watch is one thing, and this and that Wheel of a Watch is another; Therefore when I borrow my Neighbours Watch, I am at liberty to change the

the Wheels. Hence it is that you your self are forc'd to distinguish (p. 8.) between *the same Body*, and *the very same Body* (which is Subtle?) and (p. 80.) between *the meer Body of a Grain* and *meer Grain*, and (p. 81.) *it is not the Body of the Grain that is Cloathed, but the Grain it self*: Now he that can make two Things of the Body, or the meer Body of a Grain, and the Grain it self, has certainly a wond'rous Discriminative Faculty !

Recollect, I beseech you, Sir, what I have suggested p. 22. of my Essay, and what I do not find you have any thing to say against, (as indeed you have not to several other material Passages, which I shall not stay to reckon up) and it is this, *If it can only be said of that which is laid in the Grave, that it shall be made alive or rais'd at the last day, then those Nominatives that denote Persons, must mean no more than so much of those Persons as Rising again can truly and properly be predicated of, that is, their Bodies, &c.* Had you consider'd this, which you ought to have done, you might have thought that Objection of yours at least a very impertinent one, which is not only so, but very false in Fact too, That *I make the Death of the Body to consist not in its being bereft of Life, but in its being corrupted, and having its Figure and the Contexture of its Parts broken and changed after the Vital Union is dissolv'd.* You do not tell me where I say so; neither is it any consequence, as you would

make us believe it is of the Doctrine of the Bodies Identity ; neither indeed do I see ; how, whether it be true or false, it affects that Doctrine.

According to our account of a Resurrection, you will have it, p. 28. That the same Body may be raised, and be without Life ; the same Body may be made a new the same Living Body, and the same Man not exist. The same Body, and the same Soul may be again vitally United, and so the same Man may be reproduc'd ; and the same Person not exist. How ! Will not the same Soul and Body which were Separated by Death, being Reunited, make the same Man they made before, and will not that Man be the same Person ? This is strange indeed, and if you could shew, as well as say, That it follows from the Doctrine of the Identity, I should begin to think of giving up the Cause. But I do not find you attempt to do that, any other way than by supposing the same Man to want one half of his Being, i. e. either his Soul, or his Body. And as for the same Bodies being raised without Life, and being made anew the same Living Body, and yet that the same Man shall not exist ; These are idle Exceptions, till you make it appear, that the Life of the Body rais'd is not necessarily imply'd and included in the Resurrection of it, or, in other Words, that the End and Import of the Resurrection does not require that
the

the same Soul should be United to the same Body, which, infallibly, will make the same Man: And yet rather than yield to such Evidence as this, you do not stick to say, that *the same Soul is not necessary, if Life will make this Body capable of Rewards and Punishments.* Can then the same Man or Person be capable of being rewarded or punish'd for things done in his Body, unless, at least, the same Soul enters in to the Composition of that Person? Or can it be said, that the same Soul is sufficient to denominate that Compositum, the same Person that (figuratively speaking) Dy'd, without the same Body that (properly speaking) Dy'd, and to which the Actions of the Body all along before the point of Death are imputable, for the Reason above given? Does not the Compositum make the Person? And is half of a Compositum a whole one?

But what signifies reducing you to an Absurdity? We are but Even yet, you'll say, for that you have done the same by me, p. 11, 12. upon that Concession of mine, that *It may please God, to add to the Body Rising, or Risen, such new Particles as may compleat the Perfection of a Glorify'd Body,* which you conceive to be inconsistent with *the Rising Bodies being the same in Matter and Quantity that was Bury'd.* This you thought a Home-stroak, and you insult Accordingly. But it seems, those distinguishing Eyes of Yours had a Mist before them at this time; else you had certainly seen that

the same Quantity, that is, not a less Quantity, does not exclude, but is very compatible with the accession or addition of a distinct Quantity of Matter? † at least, when you Transcrib'd those words of mine, the parts after that change are materially the same with those that were sown, and in Quantity too; tho' indeed a new quantity of matter once distinct from it, be so superadded, &c. Nay you are so discerning as to ask whether it is the same Body when so many more parts are added than it had before. As if the Addition of new Parts lessen'd the Quantity of the Old ones; and that Body which was rais'd again consisted of other particles than were bury'd, (which is a Contradiction in terminis) because Particles that never before belong'd to the Body that was buried, were added to it. But enough of this.

† Tertullian seems to be confident that there will be an accessional Quantity, arguing from the Apostle's similitude. *Additum erit (says he) quod corpori superstruitur: nec exterminatum illud, cui superstruitur, sed augetur. Salvum est autem quod augetur. Seritur enim solummodo granum sine folliculi veste, &c. Exurgit autem copia feneratum, &c. Hæc sunt ei corpus a Deo aliud; in quod non abolitione, sed ampliacione mutatur. Et unicuiq; seminum suum corpus deputavit; non suum, id est non pristinum: ut tunc et illud suum sit, quod extrinsecus a Deo adquirit. Servi igitur exemplo; et conserva speculum ejus, carni; eandem credens fructificaturam, qua sit seminata; ipsam, etsi pleniorẽ; non aliam, etsi aliter revertentem. De Reur. c. 52.*

I know

I know of but one more Objection against the Doctrine of the Identity, in your discourse worth taking notice of, and that is, *that the Rising Person cannot be certain he is the same Man which formerly liv'd in the World, because he is absolutely ignorant of, and cannot know the Numerical Particles his Body did consist of, when lay'd in the Grave.* p. 37, 38. and elsewhere. Now according to Mr. Lock's and your Hypothesis, 'tis not only not necessary, but impossible, that the Soul should be conscious of having the same Body united to it, for it cannot be conscious of such an Union, when it has not the same Body; and if that Consciousness be not necessary according to yours, why do you make it necessary in mine? or, if you do not make it necessary in mine, why do you make an Objection of it, as if it were? I do not at all doubt but it may be clearly prov'd from Physical Consequences, that the same Soul united to the same Body must necessarily be conscious of the former Union between them; But it is enough that we learn from Divine Revelation, that it *will* be so, when they shall be united at the great day of Accounts; And therefore I shall not enter into any Dispute about the Principle of Consciousness, not conceiving it to be necessary upon this head.

And now I think I have gone over whatever of the Argumentative Part of your Discourse concerns my Essay. 'Tis not my Business to
look

look into what relates peculiarly to any Body else, nor worth Time or Paper, to make any Remarks upon every thing you have offer'd *Gratis*, as that *Mr. Locke's Words have not been always faithfully reported, nor so much of his Discourses set down in some places as is necessary*, p. 57. &c. All your Arbitrary, unprov'd Propositions shall put me to no trouble, and whatever material is not so, I have by this time sufficiently answer'd. So that all that remains is to make my Conclusion, which I will crave leave to do with a little Advice to you, and it is this, that in settling any sacred Doctrines or Points of Faith you will not, for the future, suffer your self to follow the affected Novelties and wild Conceits of any private Man, † especially when he confesses himself Ignorant of what so many better Judges and greater Men than himself have, for so many Ages together, unanimously asserted and determin'd; but that you will make use of those Assistances and Authorities, which as God has preserv'd for the Information of his Church, so 'tis more especially the Duty of his Ministers to prefer before either their own or other Mens Hypotheses and Schemes. Whoever is duely admitted to the Priestly Function, if he be not wanting to himself, or false to his Character, has

† Or rather the reviv'd Heresy of *Valentinus, Cerdon, Marcion*, &c. which is what I have intimated in my Essay, p. 38, 40, 43. and you have said nothing to it.
certainly

certainly not only a better Right, but surer Means, than any half-learned Layman, to interpret the Holy Scriptures. Indeed by Imposition of Hands he has receiv'd a Title to those Aids and Illuminations which render him infinitely better qualified for that Office, than any Man Unordain'd upon the best pretensions, ought to reckon himself ; and therefore as it is a more immediate Affront to the H. Spirit to neglect or abuse those singular Advantages, so it is a sort of abandoning his Service to rely entirely or chiefly upon those of an Inferiour Dignity, or Efficacy, whether in others or our selves. I hope you will take all these things a little deeper into Consideration than you seem to have done hitherto, and am,

Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,

S. PARKER.

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